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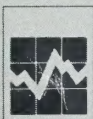
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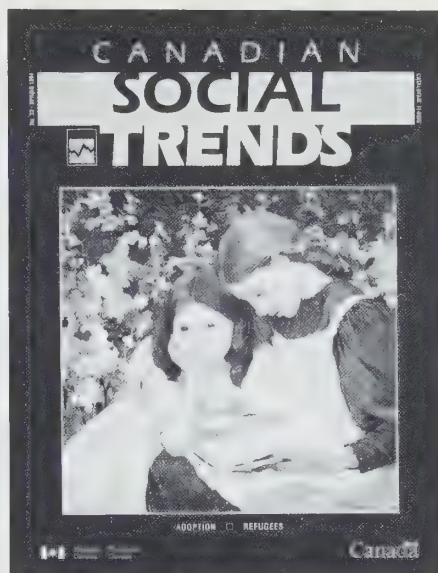
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Cover: Fairy Tales (c. 1916) oil on canvas, 68.8 x 72.0 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

About the artist:

Born in 1864 in Douglas, Ontario, **Mary A. Eastlake** (nee Bell) spent her early childhood in Almonte (Ont.) and Carillon (Que.). A student of Robert Harris of Montreal, she later took up her artistic studies in Paris where she also exhibited some of her paintings. Continuing her work, she went to England where she met and married landscapist C.H. Eastlake. In 1939, Mrs. Eastlake, with her husband, arrived in Canada taking up residence in Montreal for several years and then later on moved to Almonte. During the winter of 1927, the Art Gallery of Toronto held one of her largest Canadian exhibitions. Mrs. Eastlake died in Ottawa in 1951.



CONTENTS

No. 32 - SPRING 1994

Adoption in Canada <i>by Kerry J. Daly and Michael P. Sobol</i>	2
Canada's Refugee Flows: Gender Inequality <i>by Monica Boyd</i>	7
Temporary Residents of Canada <i>by Craig McKie</i>	12
Changes in Real Wages <i>by Abdul Rashid</i>	16
Traditional-Earner Families <i>by Jillian Oderkirk, Cynthia Silver and Marc Prud'homme</i>	19
Two by Two? Sex Ratios of Unattached Canadians <i>by Robert Riordan</i>	26
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1993	30
Social Indicators	31

Cumulative Index of Articles - Winter 1993 Issue

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Editor-in-Chief	Cynthia Silver
Editors	Jo-Anne Belliveau Jillian Oderkirk
Production Co-ordinator	Cheryl Sarazin
Marketing Co-ordinator	Alex Solis
Art Direction	Dissemination Division, Statistics Canada
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ADOPTION



in Canada

by Kerry J. Daly and Michael P. Sobol

During the 1980s, the number of children, especially infants, who were placed by their mothers for adoption dropped sharply. There was not, however, a corresponding decline in the number of people wanting to adopt a child. Consequently, waiting lists have grown and it often takes several years to adopt a child. Adopting privately rather than through a public agency can greatly shorten waiting times, although such adoptions can be very costly. For some mothers who make the difficult decision of placing their child for adoption, services provided by private agencies and individuals may be more attractive than those offered by public agencies. In particular, private services usually offer more open communication between birth mothers and adoptive parents.

Number of children placed in adoptive homes dropped during the 1980s

In 1990, about 2,840 Canadian children were placed in adoptive homes, down 47% from 5,380 in 1981. This drop was due, in large part, to a sharp decline in infant adoptions. During the 1980s, the number of infants placed in adoptive homes fell 52%, to 1,700 in 1990 from 3,520 in 1981. Over the same period, the number of children over age 1 placed with adoptive parents dropped 39%, to 1,140 from 1,860. Consequently, infants accounted for a smaller proportion of all

children placed in adoptive homes in 1990 (60%) than they did in 1981 (65%).

Although many people are waiting to adopt an infant, there are some children for whom it is difficult to find an adoptive home. This includes not only older children, but also those with health problems or disabilities who may be physically, emotionally or cognitively challenged. Children also may be difficult to place if they are members of a racial

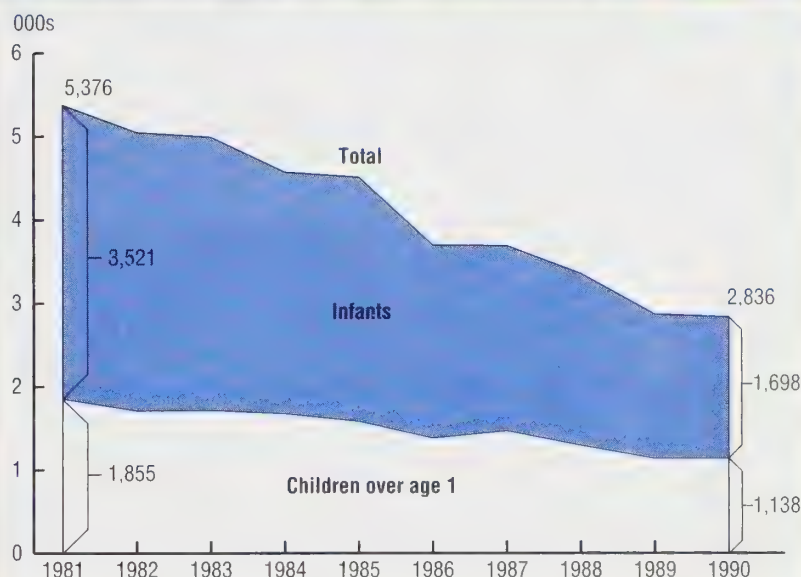
or ethnic minority or if they have had problems in previous foster and/or adoptive placements.

Few unmarried mothers place their child for adoption

Most women who place an infant for adoption are unmarried and under age 25. Although the number of pregnant unmarried women this age rose by almost 8,500, to 77,210 in 1989 from 68,755 in 1981, very few

Number of children placed in adoptive homes declines

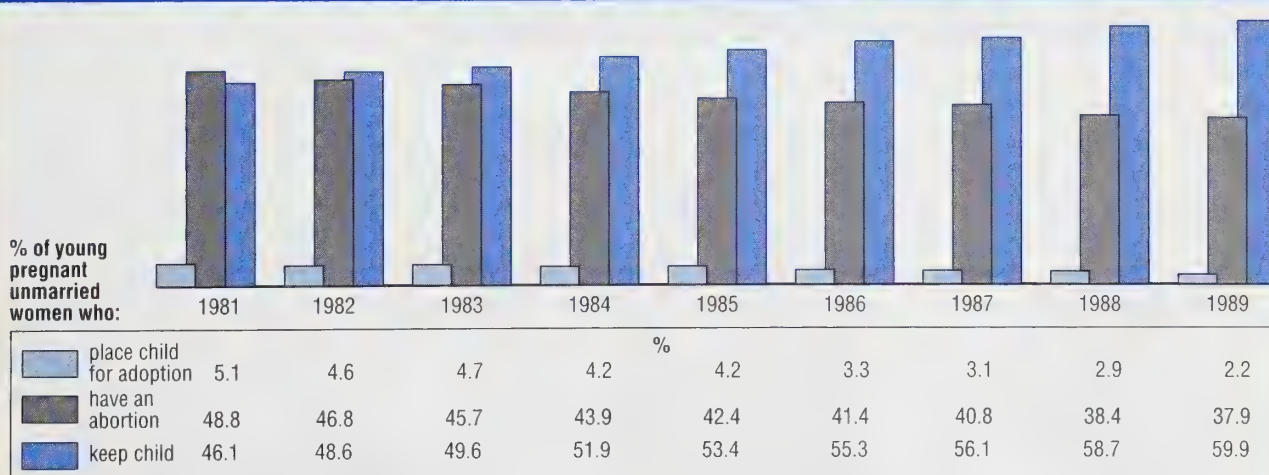
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Source: Daly, Kerry J. and Michael P. Sobol, *Adoption in Canada, Final Report, 1993*.

Few young¹ pregnant unmarried women place their child for adoption

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¹ Under age 25.

Source: Daly, Kerry J. and Michael P. Sobol, *Adoption in Canada, Final Report, 1993*.

women in either year placed their child for adoption. Between 1981 and 1989, the proportion of unmarried pregnant women under age 25 who placed their child for adoption declined to 2% from 5%.

There was, however, a sharp increase in the proportion of young unmarried women who kept their child and a corresponding decline in the proportion whose pregnancy ended in abortion. By 1989, 60% of unmarried women under age 25 chose to keep their child, up sharply from 46% in 1981. Over the same period, the proportion of pregnancies among these women that ended in abortion had dropped to 38% from 49%.

Several factors likely influenced birth mothers' decisions to raise their children themselves. In particular, the social stigma associated with being an unmarried mother has diminished significantly. Consequently, women today are more likely to feel comfortable raising a child on their own, and to have support from their families, friends and communities. In addition, common-law unions became more prevalent during the 1980s. As a result, by 1990, a growing proportion of unmarried mothers would have been with a partner who could share parenting responsibilities.

Too young to parent most common reason for placing child for adoption

Mothers who decide to place their child for adoption are usually very young. It is not surprising, therefore, that many women who chose adoption did so

because they felt that they were either not emotionally mature enough or financially ready to raise a child.

According to adoption facilitators, the most common reason for placing a child for adoption, given by 51% of mothers, was that they felt that they were too young to parent. Other main reasons included feeling that they were financially unable to parent (26%) and the belief that parenting would interfere with their educational and career aspirations (21%). Encouragement from parents, peers and the birth father to give the child up for adoption was a major factor for less than 10% of young mothers. Very few women (6%) who signed a consent to place their child for adoption later changed their mind.

Two-thirds of people trying to adopt have no parenting experience

According to the National Adoption Study, people have a variety of reasons for wanting to adopt a child, including the inability to have their own child, and the desire to experience parenthood or complete a family. Although most people applying to adopt a child have no parenting experience, 14% were already adoptive parents, 13% had at least one child of their own and 6% had been foster parents. Almost all people applying to adopt a child are in a couple relationship, with only 3% of applicants in 1990 unattached.

Potential adoptive parents face a rigorous screening process. Some of the more important qualities sought in adoptive

parents are marital stability, parenting abilities and an understanding of adoption and its complications. People facilitating adoptions expressed concerns about placing a child with single or homosexual applicants, with those of a race or ethnicity different from that of the child and with those over age 40.

Private adoptions faster, but potentially expensive

Both the public and private sectors facilitate adoptions in Canada. Public facilitators are provincially-funded ministerial offices and agencies that do not charge fees for their services to adoptive parents. On the other hand, private agencies and independent practitioners, such as physicians, lawyers and social workers, have no direct supervision from provincial ministries. Some charge fees to adoptive parents, while others do not.

Although fees are often high, private adoption services may be more appealing than public services to some adoptive parents because the waiting period is usually much shorter. The waiting period through private agencies and individuals who charge fees is about 21 months. The time increases to just under 3 years among independent practitioners (34 months) and private agencies (32 months) without fees. In contrast, public adoptions take an average of 6 years, and 25% of public agencies reported waiting times of 8-12 years.

Among those charging for adoption services, average fees vary between agencies and individuals. Private agency-facilitated adoptions cost an average of \$3,610, compared with \$3,460 for independent practitioners. These costs cover legal fees (the highest portion), investigation of the birth parent's history, home studies and pre-counselling of the birth parent. Additional services may be provided, such as pre- and post-adoption counselling and home study updates. These and any extra administration fees or other birth parent expenses can increase the average cost of adoption to \$5,870 for private agencies, and to \$4,530 for independent practitioners. Costs for privately-administered international adoptions would be even higher because of additional transportation, lodging and administration fees.

Private adoption offers birth mothers more openness

Birth mothers may be

Profiles of mothers placing their child for adoption and adoptive parents¹

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Mothers

- single
- aged 15-19
- Caucasian
- Protestant or Catholic
- completed junior high school
- no prior pregnancy
- not attending school or attending high school
- living with parents before pregnancy

Adoptive parents

- married
- aged 31-35
- Caucasian
- Protestant or Catholic
- fertility problem
- at least high school education
- no prior parenting experience

¹ Adoption facilitators were asked to provide a typical profile of birth mothers and adoptive parents.

attracted to privately-facilitated adoptions because private agencies and independent practitioners who charge fees tend to provide more openness between birth mothers and adoptive parents. Public agencies and independent practitioners who do not charge fees tend not to offer the same degree of openness. Traditionally, there has been

little communication or openness between birth mothers and adoptive parents. Today, however, in some cases, birth mothers may choose adoptive parents for their children from family profiles. In other cases, birth mothers and adoptive parents may meet before or after the placement of the child or stay in contact through letters.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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The National Adoption Study

This study, funded in 1990 by National Welfare Grants, Health Canada, was designed to provide a "satellite" view of adoption in Canada. Provincial and territorial adoption coordinators were asked to supply 1981-1990 adoption statistics for a variety of categories. A number of difficulties were encountered when trying to compile these statistics. First, social service ministries are responsible for keeping provincial adoption statistics. Because their mandates are service- and not research-oriented, it is rare to find complete long-term record-keeping. Second, there has been no attempt to coordinate adoption definitions and categories across the country. Third, in some provinces, private adoptions are either forbidden by law or continue without the possibility of provincial ministry scrutiny, and therefore it is difficult to determine even a count of such adoptions.

Consequently, it was necessary to estimate some data, based on trends that emerged in other provinces. The overall uniformity and consistency in adoption trends from one province to the next endorsed the validity of the estimates.

For a full discussion of the results of the study, see **Adoption in Canada, Final Report, 1993**, available through the National Adoption Study, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, N1G 2W1.

Increasing proportion adopting privately

The number of public adoptions declined during the 1980s. In 1990, 1,730 adoptions were facilitated through public agencies, down from 4,440 in 1981. Private adoptions, on the other hand, remained relatively constant at around 1,070 during the decade. As a result of these trends, the proportion of adoptions that were privately facilitated increased to 39% in 1990 from 17% in 1981. Similarly, private infant adoptions increased rapidly, rising to 59% of all infant adoptions in 1990, up from 22% in 1981. Private adoptions among older children continue to be rare, although they increased during the last half of the 1980s. In 1990, only 9% of adoptions of older children were facilitated by private agencies, up from 4% in 1986. During the early 1980s, this proportion fluctuated between 6% and 11%.

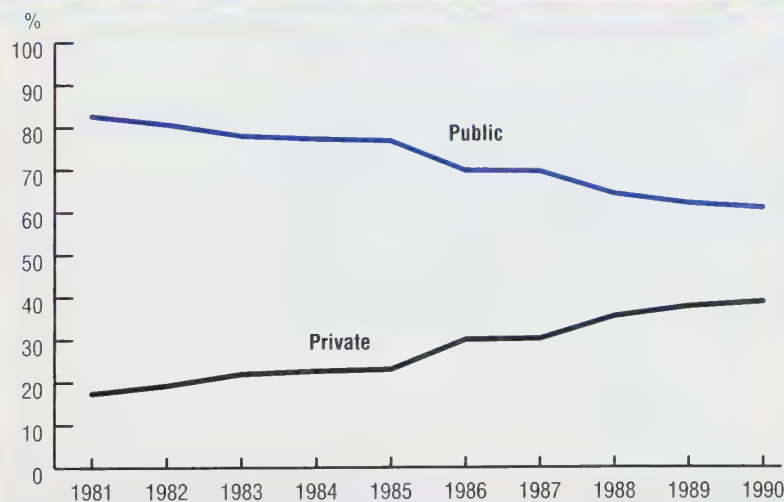
There are fewer applicants waiting to adopt privately than publicly, partly a reflection of the cost of these services. In 1990, there were 2.7 applicants for every child placed privately in an adoptive home, compared with 3.2 for every child placed through a public agency. Among infants, the ratios were higher. There were 3 applicants for every privately-adopted infant, compared with almost 8 applicants for every child placed through a public agency.

In 1990, about 8,000 couples and 130 single people were waiting to adopt privately, while about 14,000 couples and 500 single people were on public agency waiting lists. It is possible, however, that some people may be included on both private and public waiting lists. These totals do not include people trying to adopt internationally. Although there are no national data on people trying to adopt children from other countries, facilitators of international adoptions estimated that there were between 2,000 and 5,000 people on these waiting lists.

Kerry J. Daly is a Professor, Dept. of Family Studies and **Michael P. Sobol** is a Professor, Dept. of Psychology, both with the University of Guelph, and are Co-directors of the National Adoption Study.

Proportion of private adoptions increases

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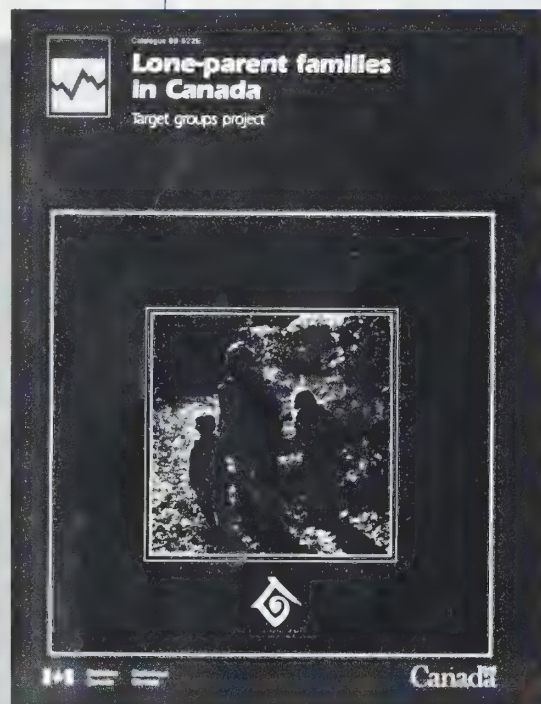


Source: Daly, Kerry J. and Michael P. Sobol, **Adoption in Canada, Final Report, 1993**.



1994 International Year of the Family
Année internationale de la famille

Lone-parent families in Canada



Life in lone-parent families

The structure of family living in Canada has changed dramatically in the last several decades. The growing number of lone-parent families has been one of the most profound developments. In fact, by 1991, there were almost one million lone-parent families, representing one of every five families with children. As well, women make up the vast majority of lone parents.

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CANADA'S REFUGEE FLOWS

Gender Inequality

by Monica Boyd

People in flight from their home countries, because of persecution and fear, face many challenges. Relations between women and men, and children and parents, are altered. The maintenance of culture is often difficult. Many refugees, particularly those living in camps, have problems obtaining basic necessities, like food and water, as well as accessing supplies, health care and education. Many struggle daily for their family's survival.

Of all world refugees, estimated to total 16.7 million in 1990, only a small minority will have their needs met through asylum in Canada.¹ Between 1981 and 1991, Canada admitted 279,000 people as permanent residents on humanitarian grounds. Of these, 30% were UN convention refugees and 70% were members of designated groups.

People admitted to Canada as UN convention refugees or as members of designated groups may be sponsored to

come to Canada or they may arrive at Canada's borders and apply for refugee status. Those who are sponsored by the government or by organizations such as churches are given permanent residence upon their arrival in Canada. Those who arrive at Canada's borders on their own

must apply for refugee status. If their application is accepted, they may stay in Canada until their claim is heard by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). Only those who receive a positive decision by the board may apply to remain in Canada as a permanent resident.

Most world refugees are women and children

Comprehensive and detailed data on the world refugee population are not available. However, the distribution of world refugees by gender and age is expected to approximate that of the total populations of areas where most refugees live – Africa, South Asia and the Middle East.² This is because the conditions which produce

refugee flows, including abrupt changes in regimes and the formation of new nation

¹ Martin, Susan Forbes, **Refugee Women**, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: ZED Books Ltd., 1992.

² Keely, Charles B., "The Resettlement of Women and Children Refugees," **Migration World**, Vol. 20, No. 4(Fall): 14-18, 1992.



**"ONE IMPRESSION STANDS OUT ABOVE ALL OTHERS:
THE FACES OF THE REFUGEES ARE OVERWHELMINGLY
THE FACES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN."**

Susan Forbes Martin, then a member of the United States Commission on Refugees, wrote this statement in her journal while on a 1986 site visit to a refugee camp in Thailand.¹

states, usually affect the whole population in areas where they occur.

The populations of Africa, South Asia and the Middle East are characterized by relatively high fertility rates. As a result, in many countries in these areas, about half of the population is under age 15. Assuming that the numbers of adult men and women in these countries are similar, then about 75% of the populations of these areas consist of children (50%) and women (25%).

Estimates of the percentage of world refugees who are women and children range between 75% and 85%. Estimates that exceed 75% reflect upward adjustments to account for the higher percentage of women and children that have been observed in some United Nations' High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) camps. It also includes the expectation that men are less likely to be present in refugee camps or among groups in flight because of death or imprisonment or because of continued insurgency or military involvement in their area of origin.

Men predominate among refugees admitted to Canada as permanent residents Among those admitted to Canada as permanent residents on humanitarian grounds during the past decade (UN convention refugees and members of

designated groups), there were over one and a half times as many men as women. Men are estimated to represent one-quarter of the world refugee population. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada records, however, men accounted for 48% of UN convention refugees and 47% of designated groups admitted to Canada from 1981 to 1991. In contrast, 27% of UN convention refugees and 30% of designated groups admitted to Canada during that period were women.

Children under age 15 were greatly under-represented among refugees admitted to Canada as permanent residents. Although it is estimated that half of populations in flight are usually children, they accounted for 24% of both UN convention refugees and designated groups admitted to Canada from 1981 to 1991.

Only in classes of immigrants where admission was not based on humanitarian grounds did women predominate. From 1981 to 1991, women represented 43% of those accepted under classes where admission was not based on humanitarian grounds, while men represented 37% and children 19%. The higher representation of women in these other classes largely results from a concentration of women in the family class, where they outnumber men by 50%. From 1981 to 1991, 304,282 women were admitted in this class,

compared with 219,418 men. Many women admitted in the family class were entering Canada to rejoin family members already in the country.

Men more likely than women never to have been married According to Citizenship and Immigration data, between 1981 and 1991, 59% of men admitted as UN convention refugees and 45% admitted as members of designated groups were never married. Among women admitted, the corresponding percentages were 37% and 33%, respectively. Of those admitted to Canada as permanent residents under other classes where admission was not based on humanitarian grounds, 38% of men and 32% of women never had been married. A high proportion of never-married men in the UN convention refugee and designated group categories may result in a limited number of refugee women and children immigrating to Canada on the basis of family ties.

Those admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds and who have permanent resident status can sponsor the migration of close relatives to Canada, many of whom are also victims of flight or persecution.³ By definition, never-married people admitted on humanitarian grounds will have no spouses and likely no

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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What is a refugee?¹ According to Article 1 of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is a person who "...owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country...."

Canada is a signatory to this convention and thus uses the UN definition of a refugee in assessing who is eligible to enter Canada as a refugee. The Canadian *Immigration Act*, 1976 and amendments introduced in



Bill C-86 (December, 1992) also provide for the admission of other groups on humanitarian grounds.² "Designated classes" is a term used to capture a variety of "refugee like" situations including mass outflows (such as those from Indochina), disproportionate punishment for violation of strict exit controls (self-exiles) and, for specific countries, the internally displaced (political prisoners and oppressed people).

¹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Refugee Affairs Immigration Policy Group, 1993.

² See subsection 6(3) of the *Immigration Act*.

children to sponsor. In contrast, married people admitted to Canada on these grounds may sponsor the eventual migration of spouses and children. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine from the Canadian landed immigrant data base which migrants admitted to Canada on the basis of family ties are actually a continuation of an earlier refugee movement.

Process for selecting refugees eliminates many women

Compared to worldwide estimates of the composition of refugee populations, women are under-represented in humanitarian-based admissions to Canada for a number of reasons. Men are more likely than women to travel to Canada's borders and become refugee applicants. Among the 57,455 claims finalized in 1991 and 1992 by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB), 66% were claims from men. Men are also more likely than women to be politically active participants when repression, insurgency and civil war occur and thus meet the criteria of a UN convention refugee.

The UN convention definition of a refugee considers race, religion, nationality and membership in a particular social group or political opinion as reasons why an individual may fear being persecuted in their home country. In many countries,

however, women undergo persecution as a consequence of the actions of other family members. Such experiences, which can involve rape, torture and beatings, may not be considered "persecution" by IRB adjudicators.

Recognizing that many refugee claimants fear gender-related persecution, on March 9, 1993, the IRB released guidelines assisting members in assessing claims based on gender persecution. These guidelines are directed to members of the IRB who review refugee claimant cases and are not part of Canada's immigration legislation.

The process used to select refugees from outside Canada also results in men being more likely than women to be admitted. To be admitted into Canada as a permanent resident, those seeking asylum must first meet the United Nations' criteria of a UN convention refugee or be a member of a designated group. In addition, people from outside Canada, such as those in refugee camps, must be considered admissible, which generally means that they should exhibit the potential for eventual successful resettlement in Canada.

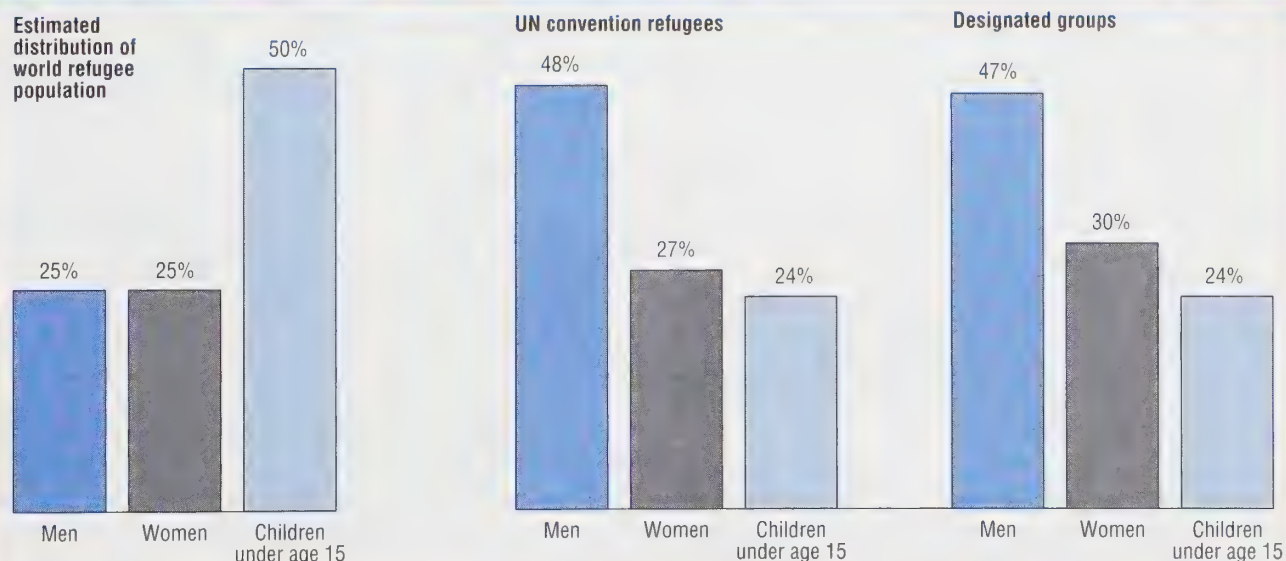
Men are more likely than women to meet admissibility standards that major settlement countries, like Canada, impose. This is because socio-economic characteristics,

such as exposure to Western lifestyles, education, knowledge of English or French, and job skills, are used to assess claimants' potential for successful settlement. As women in many countries where refugees originate receive fewer educational, employment and social opportunities than men, they are less likely to meet admissibility standards on their own merits. In addition, because refugee service agencies and national governments emphasize eventual repatriation rather than permanent resettlement, they do not usually select women and children who are temporarily separated from husbands and fathers.

When women are admitted to Canada on humanitarian criteria, they are much more likely than men to enter as part of a larger family unit in which another individual has satisfied admission standards. According to Citizenship and Immigration data for 1981 to 1991, less than half of women admitted to Canada as UN convention refugees or as members of designated groups were principal applicants, compared with 91% of men

³ Refugees with permanent resident status are no longer required to sponsor the migration of their spouses and children. Instead, when the applicants receive permanent resident status so do their spouses and children.

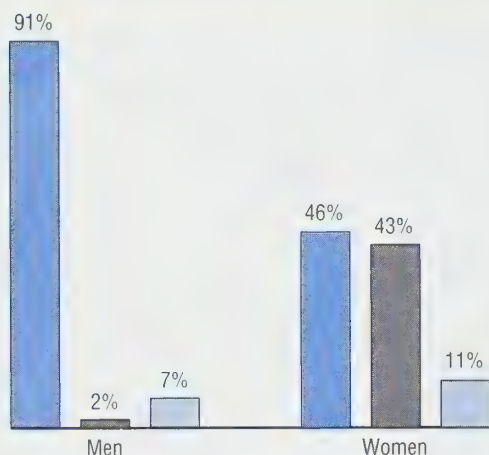
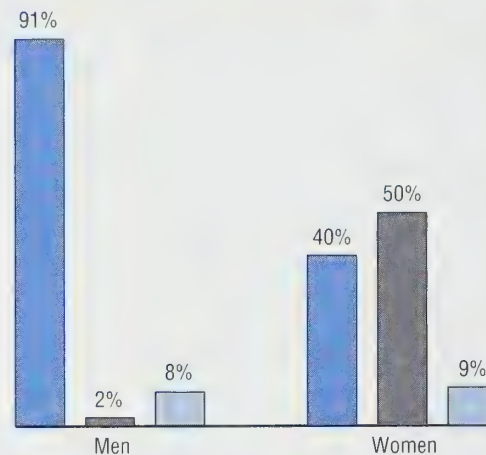
Percentage distribution of refugees entering Canada as permanent residents, by refugee status, 1981-1991



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Of permanent residents, men twice as likely as women to be principal applicants, 1981-1991

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UN convention refugees¹Designated groups¹

Principal applicant Spouse of principal applicant Dependent of principal applicant

¹ Aged 15 and over.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

admitted. Whereas 43% of women who were convention refugees and 50% of women who were members of designated groups entered as spouses of principal applicants, less than 2% of men in each of these groups were admitted as spouses.

"Women at risk" program initiated to address problems

The difficulties that refugee women face in meeting settlement criteria resulted in the UNHCR taking an initiative in the mid-1980s to target "women at risk." Canada started a women at risk program in 1987, and women have been admitted through this program since 1988. From 1988 to 1991, however, the total number of people admitted under this program, including women as well as their family members, was very small (391), representing only 0.3% of all UN convention refugees and members of designated groups admitted during that period.⁴

The women at risk program is designed to allow women who meet the eligibility criteria of a UN convention refugee or a member of a designated group to be admitted into Canada, even if they do not meet admissibility standards due to low educational attainment, limited labour-market skills or heavy child-care responsibilities. In general, this program admits women in precarious situations where local authorities can not ensure their safety and protection, such as those experiencing harassment by local authorities or members of their own communities. This situation most likely occurs when adult males are absent from the household.

Many women left behind Women and children are less likely than men to be accepted for settlement in Canada and other Western countries on humanitarian grounds. Given that women and children form a large proportion of populations in flight, this implies that they disproportionately remain in their initial country of refuge.

In addition to problems faced by all refugees, such as separation from family members, poor living conditions, inadequate health care and difficulty maintaining culture,^{5,6,7} refugee women are often the targets of violence. For many refugee women, however, the persecution they face goes unrecognized and the barriers to acceptance for resettlement they encounter are unbreakable.

⁴ Immigration Statistics, annual reports, 1988-1991. By September 1993, 620 people had been admitted under this program.

⁵ Martin, Susan Forbes, *The Economic Activities of Refugee Women*. Washington, D.C.: Refugee Policy Group, The Center for Policy Analysis and Research on Refugee Issues, 1988.

⁶ Ptolemy, Kathleen, "First International Consultation on Refugee Women: Geneva (November, 1988)," *Canadian Woman Studies* 10 (Spring): 21-24, 1989.

⁷ Taft, Julia Vadala, *Issues and Options for Refugee Women in Developing Countries*. Washington, D.C.: Refugee Policy Group, 1987.

Dr. Monica Boyd, past president of the Canadian Population Society, is currently the Pepper Distinguished Professor, Department of Sociology and Research Associate, Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

• For additional information on this topic, see **Conference Proceedings: Gender Issues and Refugees: Development Implications**. Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, North York, Canada (forthcoming).

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Temporary Residents of Canada

by Craig McKie



Non-permanent residents are neither citizens of Canada nor landed immigrants. Their presence or status in the country is considered temporary because they have no legal right to remain permanently in Canada. Immigration data for the past decade indicate that these non-permanent residents form a growing segment of Canada's population. Because of their expanding role in our society and economy, and in accordance with international statistical practices, they were included in the census enumeration for the first time in 1991. Results of the census indicate that temporary residents represented about 1% of the population.

Many non-permanent residents are working in Canada at the request of an employer and possess an employment authorization that allows them to reside legally in this country. Some temporary residents have student visas allowing them to stay in Canada to attend school or university. Others have been admitted into the country on humanitarian, compassionate or national interest grounds, such as applicants for refugee status and those holding Minister's permits authorizing residence in Canada. Some are visiting Canada with documented visitor's visas, while others

are living in the country without legal permission.

Non-permanent residents concentrated in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver Of non-permanent residents enumerated by the 1991 Census, almost three-quarters were living in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. In 1991, 44% of non-permanent residents were living in the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA), while 18% were in the Montreal CMA and 10% in the Vancouver CMA.

Non-permanent residents represented 2.5% of the Toronto CMA's total population.

The next highest concentration was in the Vancouver CMA (1.4% of the population), followed by the Montreal CMA (1.3% of the population). Non-permanent residents formed less than 1% of the populations of all other CMAs.

Numbers more than double in 10 years According to administrative data from the Citizenship and Immigration Canada Visitors Immigration Data System (VIDS),¹ the number of non-permanent residents more than doubled during the 1980s, rising to 369,100 in 1990 from 143,000 in 1981. By 1990, the annual

number of non-permanent residents was 73% greater than the annual intake of permanent residents, that is, landed immigrants. In contrast, in 1981, the number of non-permanent residents was only 11% greater than the annual intake of permanent residents.

In addition to a growth in the population of non-permanent residents during the 1980s, the length of their residency in Canada has also increased. Among non-permanent residents who arrived in Canada in 1989, 50% stayed for a year or more. In contrast, only 25% of non-permanent residents admitted in 1981 stayed for a year or more.²

Non-permanent residents are more likely than landed immigrants to be of working age. In 1990, 88% of non-permanent residents were aged 20-49, while only 60% of landed immigrants admitted that year were that age.² Therefore, if non-permanent residents had been included in counts of new immigrants admitted in 1990, the dependency ratio of this population, the proportion who were seniors and children, would have been much lower.²

According to VIDS, most (80%) non-permanent residents in 1990 lived in either Ontario or Quebec, with 43% in the Toronto CMA alone.¹ Males outnumbered females, with 135 male non-permanent residents of Canada for every 100 females. Among landed immigrants admitted in 1990, the ratio also favoured males but less so, with 102 males for every 100 females.²

Temporary workers form largest group

Growth in the population of non-permanent residents during the 1980s was largely concentrated among those in Canada as paid workers. According to VIDS, the number of non-permanent residents with employment authorizations staying in Canada for one year or more increased six times to 162,900 in 1990 from 26,300 in 1981. Some of this large increase occurred because, in 1989, employment authorizations were granted to almost 100,000 people already living temporarily in this country as refugee applicants.² By

¹ Michalowski, M., "Temporary Immigrants to Canada: Numbers and Characteristics in the 1980s." Paper presented at the 1990 North American Conference on Applied Demography, Bowling Green, Ohio, October 18-21, 1990.

² Michalowski, M., "Redefining the Concept of Immigration in Canada." *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 20(1), 1993.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER CST

Administrative data and census counts

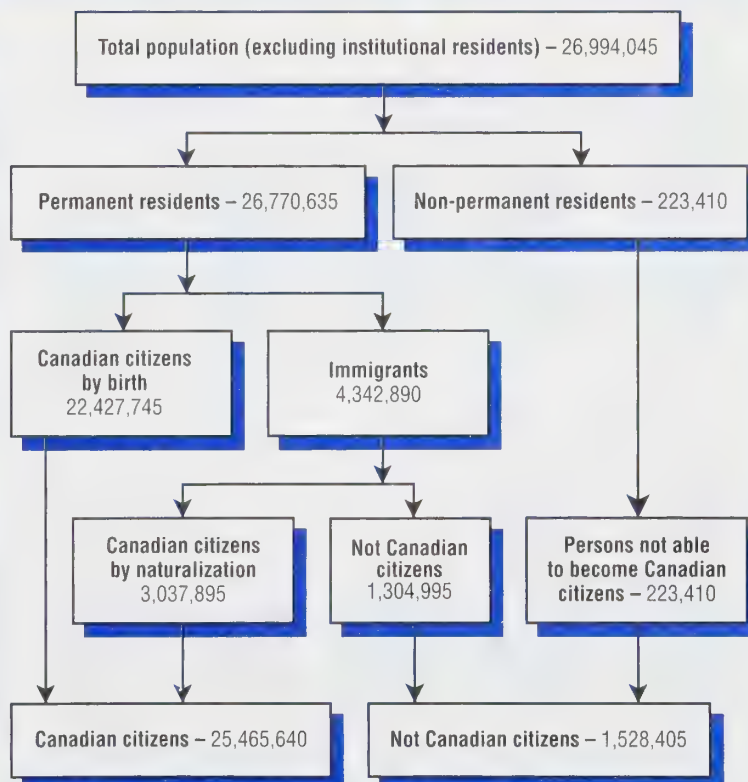
The 1990 VIDS total (369,100) exceeds that obtained from the 1991 Census (223,400), indicating that a large number of non-permanent residents did not respond to the census. Many may have been reluctant to complete a government census form because of a language barrier, a fear of undermining their residency or a lack of awareness of the need to participate.

VIDS provides a record of documents issued to non-permanent residents and, as a result, individuals may be represented more than once on the VIDS data base. To convert VIDS to a register of non-permanent residents, estimation procedures were developed to eliminate multiple counting of the same person.¹

VIDS includes non-permanent residents with employment authorizations, student visas, Minister's permits and those with documented visitor's visas. The census counted those with employment authorizations, student visas, Minister's permits and those who were refugee applicants as non-permanent residents.

¹ Michalowski, M. and C. Forier, "Two Neglected Categories of Immigrants to Canada: Temporary Immigrants and Returning Canadians," *Statistical Journal of the United Nations*, ECE 7: 175-204, 1990.

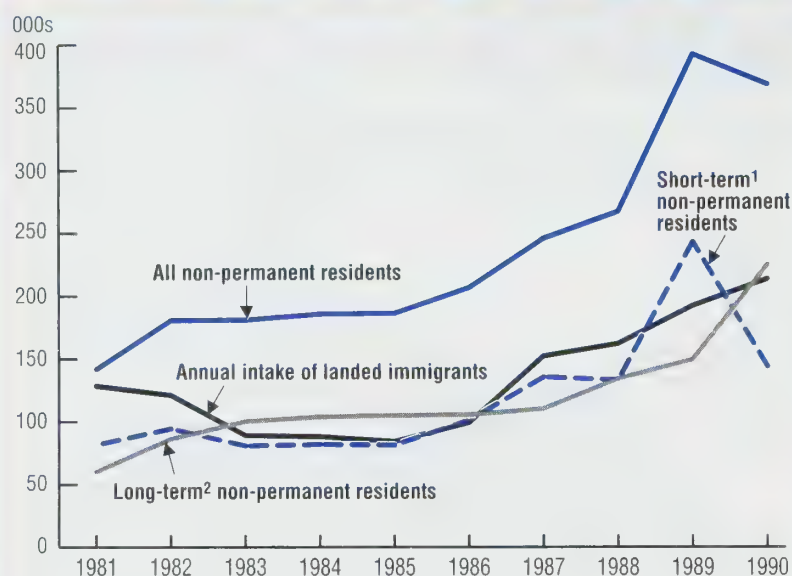
Populations resident in Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

Non-permanent residents of Canada, 1981-1990

CST



¹ Stay was shorter than one year.

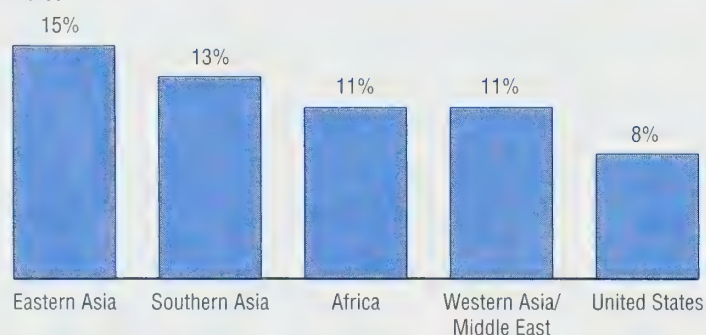
² Stay was one year or more.

Source: Michalowski, M., "Redefining the Concept of Immigration in Canada," *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 20(1), 1993.

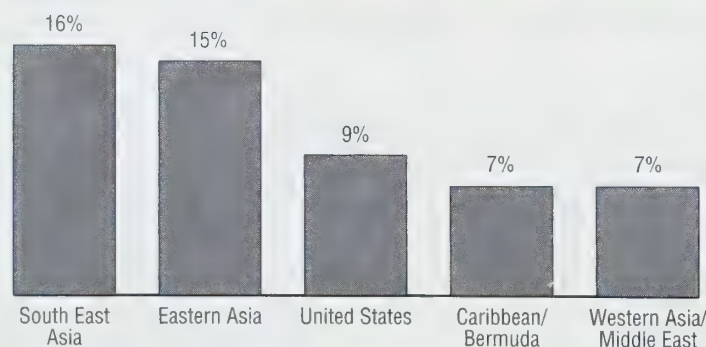
Top 5 birth places of non-permanent residents, 1991

CST

Males



Females



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

1990, the number of non-permanent residents with employment authorizations staying in Canada for one year or more was four times greater than the number holding student visas, eight times greater than the number with Minister's permits, and eleven times greater than the number of documented visitors.²

Historically, the non-permanent labour force consisted of foreign agricultural workers admitted to Canada during harvest times to augment the domestic labour force when it was seen to be inadequate for short-term surges in demand for particular types of labour.³ Although seasonal labour still attracts non-permanent residents, work requiring longer stays has become more the norm.

Much is unknown about the occupations of those with employment authorizations who stay in Canada for one year or more. This is because 79% of non-permanent residents who worked in Canada for one year or more in 1990 held exempted employment authorizations, from which occupation information was not available. Exempted employment authorizations were created, not to fulfil unmet demands for labour, but so that people already living in Canada, such as refugee applicants, could obtain jobs and thus not be as dependent on Canada's social safety net.²

Among non-permanent workers who stayed in Canada for one year or more, for whom occupation information was known, service occupations dominated. In 1990, 35% held these types of occupations. Service occupations were the most common jobs held by females (63%), many of whom were live-in care givers. Other predominant occupational groups included teaching (16%), managerial and administrative (13%), entrepreneurs and investors (8%), and natural sciences, engineering and mathematics (7%).²

There has always been a flow of foreign nationals in and out of Canada for business purposes. Under the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, special provisions for the temporary entry of Canadian and American citizens into one another's territory for business purposes were adopted. These terms facilitate the flow between the two countries of consultants, professionals, sales representatives and maintenance personnel.

Many are applicants for refugee status

Applicants for refugee status are those who arrive at Canada's borders on their own initiative and seek asylum by making a special application for permission to stay in Canada as a refugee. These applicants are entitled to remain in the country temporarily until their claim is heard to completion by the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). Those receiving a positive decision by the board become permanent residents of Canada. Refugee applications are governed by Bill C-86 which came into force January 1, 1989, superseding Bill C-55. That year, there was a backlog of 95,000 refugee applications.

To provide an opportunity for refugee applicants to financially support themselves, many are granted exempted employment authorizations. Refugee applicants with exempted employment authorizations are included in VIDS totals, while those without are excluded. The IRB, however, has data on all refugee applicants. IRB data indicate that the number of claims for refugee status climbed to almost 3,150 per month during 1992, representing a steady influx of non-permanent residents.

According to the IRB, refugee status and thus permanent residence was granted to 17,437 refugee applicants living temporarily in Canada in 1992. This intake was down from 19,425 in 1991.⁴ Similarly, the overall percentage of applicants obtaining refugee status was down to 57% in 1992 from 64% in 1991. In 1992, about 7,000 applicants whose claims were held over from previous years were granted status, but were not included in the 1992 totals.⁵ That year, applicants from Somalia (91%) were more likely than applicants from any other country to be granted refugee status.

In the first quarter of 1993, 14,068 refugee claims were made, according to the IRB. Of these claims, 6,798 cases were completed. Of the completed cases, 51% were granted refugee status. As in



previous years, most claimants in 1993 came from Sri Lanka, followed by the former Soviet Union and Somalia.⁶

Student visas, Minister's permits and documented visitors Many foreign students are attending Canadian schools and universities. According to VIDS, the number of non-permanent residents with student visas increased to 40,200 in 1990 from 23,900 in 1981.

According to VIDS, the number of non-permanent residents who held Minister's permits authorizing their residence in Canada because of humanitarian, compassionate or national interest grounds remained about the same each year during the 1980s. In 1990, there were 22,100 non-permanent residents with Minister's permits, up slightly from 20,300 in 1981.

Documented visitors form a small but growing group of non-permanent residents. In 1990, there were 14,500 documented visitors, up from 8,300 in 1981.

Non-permanent residents contribute to social change Non-permanent residents are a heterogeneous element in the Canadian population. The group includes workers, students, applicants for refugee status, those who possess Minister's permits, visitors and an unknown number of people without any legal status in Canada.

Although non-permanent residents may not stay in Canada for substantial

amounts of time, as a group, they are a growing component of the overall population. By the last half of the past decade, the number of non-permanent residents each year was about double the annual intake of landed immigrants.

Non-permanent residents are concentrated in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. These metropolitan areas, which all have large landed immigrant populations, likely attract temporary residents because they offer communities of people of the same nationality, areas in which people's mother tongues can be

used in daily life, and arrays of services for those of their national origin.

Inflows of non-permanent residents and landed immigrants to these few urban centres are resulting in social change, including a significant shift in the ethnic origins of these populations. New residents affect the demand for local services, such as health care, education, social assistance and employment programs. In addition, as workers, consumers and taxpayers, non-permanent residents have become important contributors to these urban economies.

³ The legal basis for short-term admission of workers to Canada as paid workers was laid with the Employment Authorization Program begun in 1973.

⁴ **Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1992.** Ottawa: Immigration and Refugee Board Catalogue MQ1-1992.

⁵ In addition to refugee claimants whose applications were approved, 16,000 refugees were sponsored to come to Canada in 1992. These individuals have landed immigrant status when they arrive in Canada.

⁶ "Refugee claims totalled 14,068, board reports," *Globe and Mail*, May 29, 1993, p.A-3.

Dr. Craig McKie is an Associate Professor of Sociology, Carleton University and a Contributing Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.



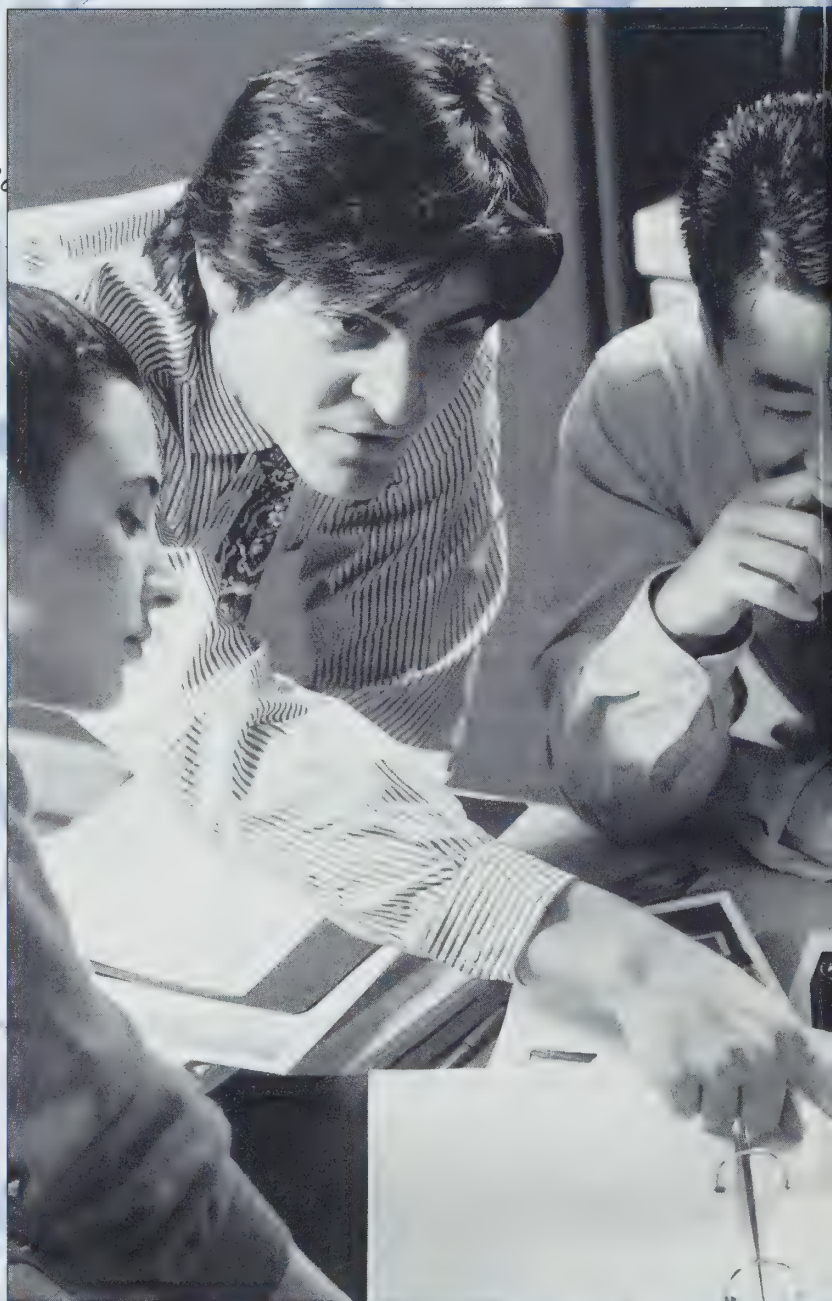
Changes in

by Abdul Rashid

Wages are the main source of income for the vast majority of Canadians and their families. Improvements in the living standards of families this century have been largely dependent on wage increases. During the last two decades, however, the wages of additional earners in families became a major source of any rise in living standards.

During the 1990s, economic growth resulted in a considerable increase in annual wages. Over the same period, prices also rose, although not as sharply. Consequently, Canadians' real average annual wage (in 1990 dollars), that is, their average wage after accounting for the effects of inflation, increased 3.6 times to \$24,300 in 1990 from \$6,800 in 1920.¹

Changes in wages are closely related to overall economic activity. Real wage growth was limited, for example, during periods of economic downturn including the Great Depression and recent recessionary periods. In contrast, real wages increased dramatically during periods of economic boom, such as that from the beginning of World War II to the end of the 1960s. Real wage growth slowed considerably between 1970 and 1980, as did economic growth. From 1980 to 1990, a decade that began and ended with recessions, wage growth was the lowest this century.



Real Wages



Women's wages remain lower than men's Between 1920 and 1990, both men's and women's real average annual wages quadrupled. Men's average wage rose to \$29,800 in 1990 from \$7,500 in 1920, whereas women's average wage rose to \$17,900 from \$4,100 over the same period.

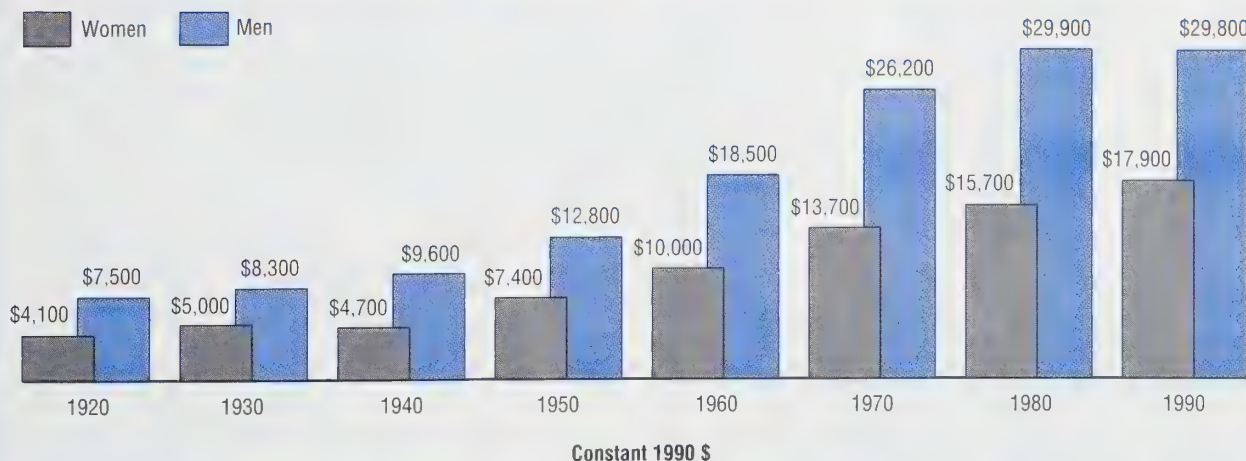
Throughout the century, women's real average annual wage has remained well below that of men's. During the past decade, some gains have been made. In 1990, women's real average annual wage was 60% of men's, an increase from 53% in 1980.

Similar increases in real wages during the 1920s and 1930s During the 1920s and 1930s, there was both the most severe economic depression in Canadian history and the beginning of a world war. In the late 1920s, unemployment rates began to rise sharply and the number of weeks that people worked decreased. By 1934, the economy had started to recover

¹ In this article, real annual wages are expressed in 1990 dollars, and are adjusted using changes in the Consumer Price Index. They are calculated using the wages of all workers, including those working full-time or part-time for all or part of the year.

Real average annual wage, by gender, 1920-1990

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

slowly, and, with the beginning of World War II, economic growth returned to pre-depression levels.

Canadians' real average annual wage rose 12% to \$7,600 in 1930 from \$6,800 in 1920. During the next decade, the increase was similar (10%) and the real annual wage reached \$8,400 by 1940.

Since the vast majority of wage earners during these two decades were men, the increase in the real average annual wage of men was similar to the overall increase. From 1920 to 1930, men's average wage rose 10%, and then increased another 16% between 1930 and 1940. In contrast, the average annual wage of women rose sharply during the 1920s (increasing 23%), but then dropped during the 1930s (falling 6%). The 1930s was the only decade during which women's real average wage declined. This was due, in part, to an increase in the number of female wage earners, many of whom were working part-time to support the war effort.

Three decades of economic boom begin A long period of economic growth began in the 1940s, during which real wages rose sharply and Canadians' overall standard of living improved dramatically. During the early part of the 1940s, the civilian labour force continued to shrink, as men, in particular, joined the armed forces. In addition, there was an increase in jobs, largely in response to war needs.

Several major shifts in the labour force and its composition began during the 1940s. Between 1941 and 1951, for example, the number of people engaged in agriculture and resource-based industries dropped for the first time, and technological advances changed the nature of many jobs. Men were more likely than in the past to enter higher-paying professional, managerial and technical jobs. This was partly a result of changes in demand for

labour, and also because many men received training and education following their military service. At the same time, more women were entering the labour force, mostly in relatively low-paying clerical and service occupations. Such occupations were common among women as many had relatively little employment experience, and often left the labour force once they married or had children.

Although the real average annual wage rose 34% during the 1940s to \$11,200 in 1950, the greatest growth in real wages in this century occurred during the next decade. Between 1950 and 1960, the real average annual wage increased 43% to \$16,000. Growth during the 1960s (37%) was similar to that in the 1940s, bringing the real average annual wage to \$21,900 in 1970.

Both men's and women's real annual wages increased sharply between 1940 and 1970. In 1970, men's real average annual wage was \$26,200, up from \$9,600 in 1940. Over the same period, the real average wage of women increased to \$13,700 from \$4,700.

Real wage growth slows during the 1970s During the 1970s, the educational level of the work force continued to rise, as post-secondary education became more common, not only among men but also increasingly among women. At the same time, there was an exceptionally large influx of people into the labour force with little or no employment experience, as baby boomers reached working age. Women, including many who were married, accounted for a large proportion of new wage earners.

Growth in real wages was slower during the 1970s than it had been previously during the century. Between 1970 and 1980, the real average annual wage rose 9% to \$23,800. Men's real annual wage rose to \$29,900 in 1980, while women's rose to \$15,700.

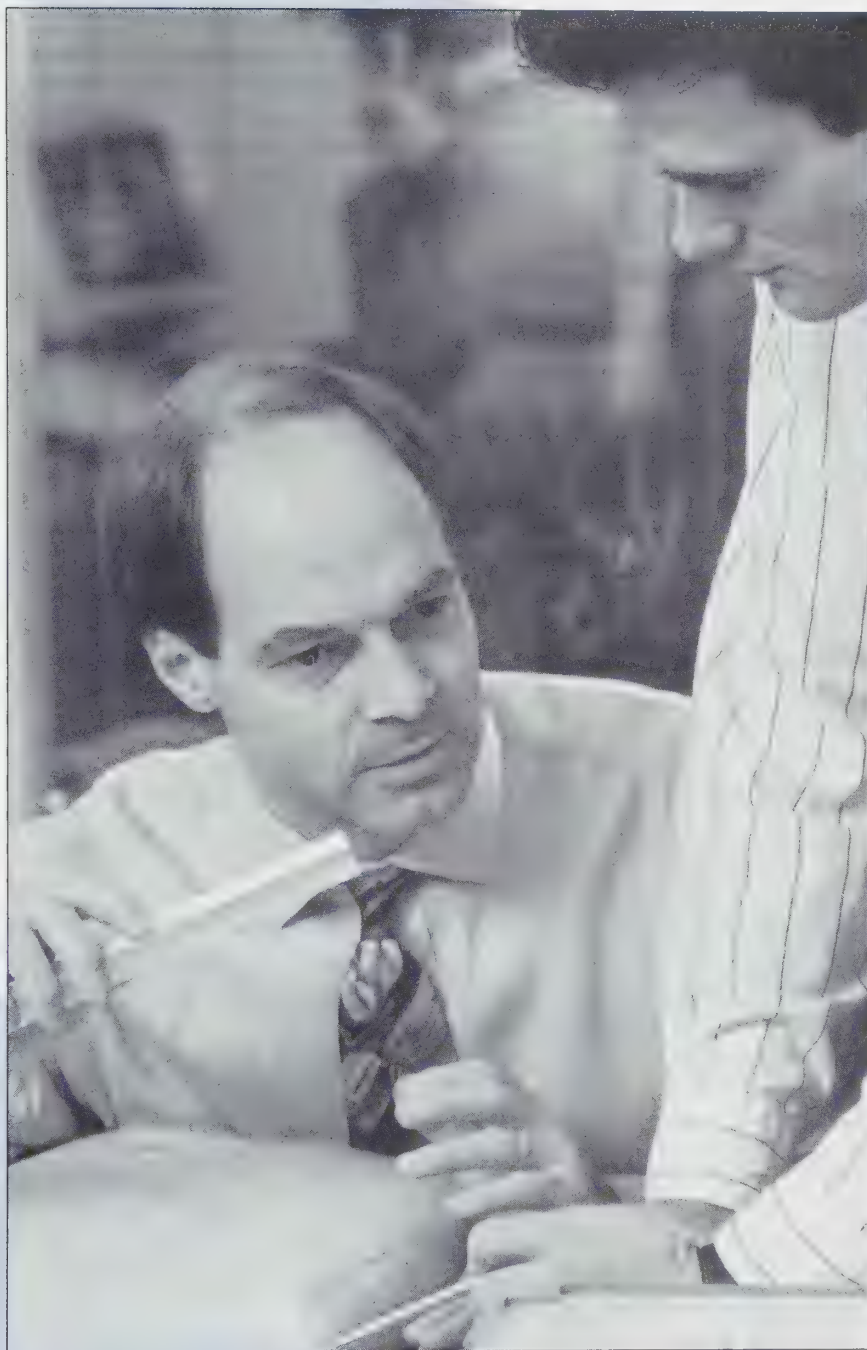
Men's real wages decline slightly during the 1980s During the 1980s, a decade that began and ended with economic recessions, the highest unemployment rates since the Great Depression were recorded. Also during this period, real average annual wages changed very little. In 1990, the average wage was \$24,300, only 2% higher than it had been in 1980.

For the first time, men's real average annual wage dropped slightly, falling 0.4% to \$29,800 in 1990. In contrast to this decline, women's real average annual wage rose almost as much in the 1980s as it did during the previous decade. Between 1980 and 1990, the real average annual wage of women rose 14% to \$17,900. Women's advancement into more highly-paid, senior positions, partly a result of an improvement in their overall level of education and years of work experience, contributed to this increase.

Abdul Rashid is a senior analyst with the Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada.

- For additional information on this topic, see "Seven Decades of Wage Change," by Abdul Rashid in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001E, Summer 1993.





Traditionally, most husband-wife families in Canada depended on the earnings of just one family member, the husband. As late as 1967, for example, the husband was the only earner in 58% of husband-wife families. By the mid-1970s, however, as married women entered the labour force in increasing numbers, this type of family was replaced by the dual-earner family as the country's norm. In 1975, 42% of married women were in the labour force, up from just 11% in 1951. Since then, the proportion of married women with paid work has continued to grow, such that by 1991 most married women (61%) were participating in the labour force. Consequently, only a minority of husband-wife families in 1991 were traditional-earner families (19%), while most were dual-earner families (61%). A small proportion of families in 1991 had either no earners (15%) or had the wife as sole earner (5%).

TRADITIONAL-EARNER FAMILIES

by Jillian Oderkirk, Cynthia Silver and Marc Prud'homme

Traditional earners are more likely than dual earners to be seniors and older adults. Nonetheless, among some young couples today, only the husband has paid employment. These traditional-earner families differ from their older counterparts as the wife's absence from the labour force is often temporary. Most young wives in these families have recent labour-market experience and have left the labour force to care for young children.

For young families, the benefits of having only one spouse employed potentially include having less stress resulting from trying to balance time for paid work, family responsibilities and personal needs, as well as having more time to actively participate in childrearing. Disadvantages may include having more financial stress because only one spouse's income is supporting the family.

Traditional earners of all ages have, on average, lower family incomes than dual earners. Furthermore, a job loss usually has a greater detrimental impact on the income of a traditional-earner family than on that of a dual-earner family.

Traditional earners are older In 1991, 31% of husbands in traditional-earner families were aged 55 and over, compared with only 12% of husbands in dual-earner families. Similarly, while 35% of husbands in traditional-earner families were under age 40, almost half (47%) of husbands in dual-earner families were that age.

Among all husband-wife families, the incidence of traditional-earner families increases only slightly with age. In 1991, 18% of all families with husbands under age 40 and 20% of all families with husbands aged 55 and over were traditional earners. In contrast, the incidence of dual-earner families drops sharply among older Canadians. The proportion of husband-wife families that were dual earners ranged from 78% of families with

husbands under age 40 and 75% of families with husbands aged 40-54 to only 25% of families with husbands aged 55 and over. Because most older Canadians are retired, almost one-half (46%) of families with husbands aged 55 and over had no earners. This was uncommon among families with husbands under age 40 or aged 40-54, 2% each. Families with wives as the sole income earner were very rare in all age groups, representing 2% of families with husbands under age 40, 3% of families with husbands aged 40-54 and 9% of families with husbands aged 55 and over.

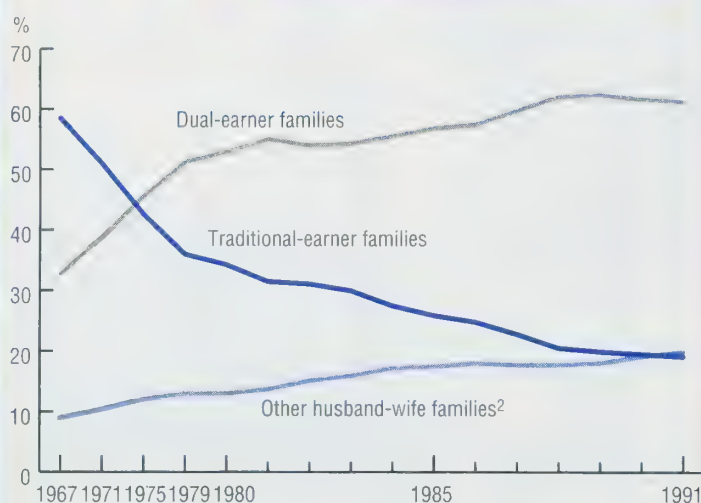
Young traditional-earner families more likely to have children In 1991, among families with husbands under age 40, 89% of traditional earners had children under age 18, compared with 67% of dual earners. Similarly, 73% of young traditional earners had children under age 7, compared with 50% of young dual earners. Among couples in which the husband was aged 40-54, about 60% of both traditional earners and dual earners had children under age 18. The incidence of children under age 7, however, was higher among traditional earners, 21%, than dual earners, 12%.

Traditional-earner families also tend to have more children than do dual-earner families. In 1991, 26% of traditional earners with children under age 18 had three or more children, compared with 18% of dual earners. Similarly, 30% of traditional earners with children under age 18 had two or more under age 7, compared with 18% of dual earners.

Young wives may leave employment temporarily Most women in traditional-earner families have paid work experience, many as recently as five years before the survey. For these women, particularly those who left the labour force to care for

Percentage distribution of husband-wife families,¹ 1967-1991

CST



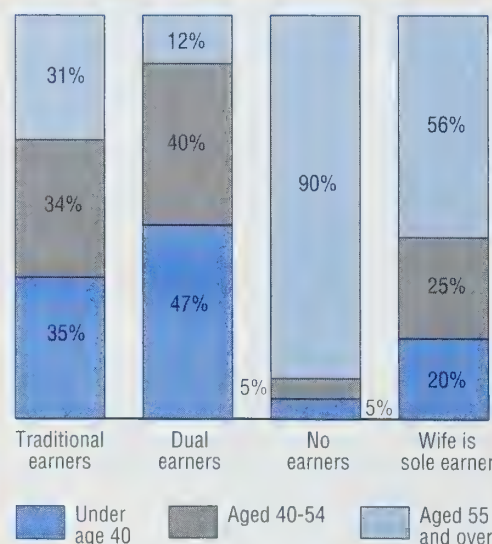
¹ Includes married and common-law couples.

² Includes families with no earners or with the wife as the sole earner.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, unpublished data.

Age¹ distribution of husband-wife families, 1991

CST



¹ Age of husband.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, Public-use Microdata File.

young children, the decision to leave paid work may be temporary. Others, such as older women who left the labour force many years ago, may have limited employment skills and may have withdrawn from the labour force permanently.

In 1991, 64% of women under age 35 in traditional-earner families had done paid work in the past five years, 25% had worked more than five years ago and 11% had never worked. Older women, in contrast, were much less likely to have recent labour-market experience. In 1991, the percentage of older women with paid work in the past five years ranged from 38% of women aged 35-44 to 22% of women aged 55 and over. The percentage with paid work more than five years ago ranged from 50% of those aged 35-44 to 61% of those aged 55 and over. Women aged 55 and over (17%) and aged 45-54 (15%) were more likely than women aged 35-44 (11%) never to have worked.

Some dual earners resemble traditional earners In almost half of all dual-earner families in 1991, both the husband and wife worked full-time, full-year, that is, they each worked 30 or more hours per week for 49 weeks or more. In a minority of dual-earner families, however, one or both spouses had part-time work or had paid work for only a small part of the year. It is unknown whether the lighter work schedules of spouses in these families resulted from choice or labour-market pressures. However, as a result of lighter work schedules, some families classified as dual earners resemble traditional earners in the amount of time the wife has available outside of paid work.

Although full-time work was very common among wives in dual-earner families, 27% of those with husbands under age 40, 29% of those with husbands aged 40-54, and 34% of those with husbands

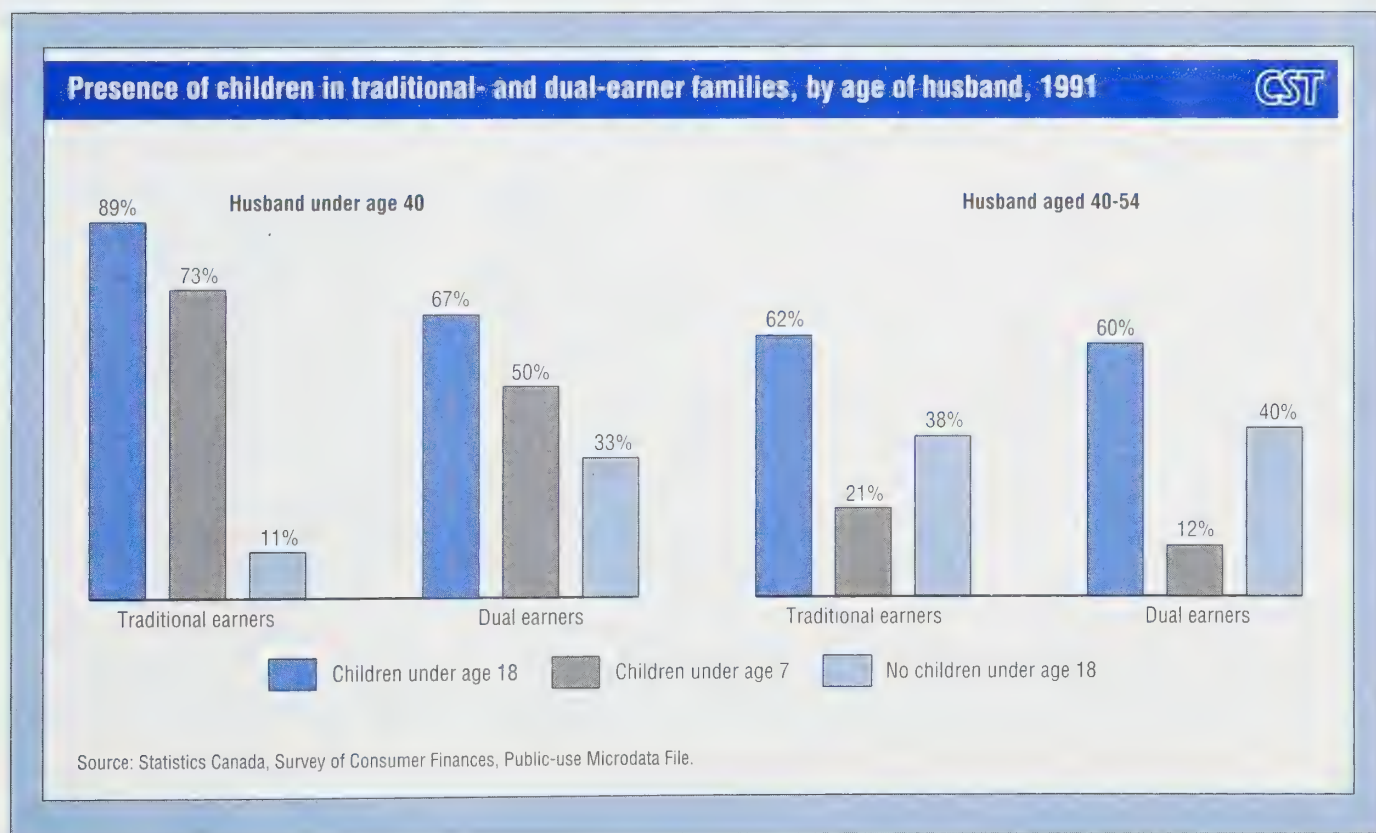
aged 55 and over worked mostly part-time in 1991. In addition, 19% of women with husbands under age 40, 13% with husbands aged 40-54 and 13% with husbands aged 55 and over worked for less than 30 weeks, either part-time or full-time, in 1991.

Dual earners more likely to have higher education Among all age groups, the educational attainment of traditional-earner couples was generally lower than that of dual-earner couples. Whereas 44% of husbands and 32% of wives in traditional-earner families had at least some postsecondary education, over half of husbands (54%) and wives (52%) in dual-earner families had this level of education.

Overall, educational attainment was higher among young couples regardless of whether they were traditional or dual earners. Of spouses under age 40, 51% of husbands and 39% of wives in traditional-earner families had at least some postsecondary education, while 57% of both husbands and wives in dual-earner families were so educated. In contrast, among adults aged 55 and over, only 31% of husbands and 25% of wives in traditional-earner families had at least some postsecondary education. Among dual-earner families with husbands aged 55 and over, 40% of husbands and 38% of wives had this level of education.

Traditional-earner families have lower incomes Since the 1960s, traditional-earner families have had considerably lower annual incomes than dual-earner families and this income gap has widened over time. By 1991, the incomes of traditional-earner families averaged 21% lower than those of dual-earner families.

Continued on page 24



Dual-earner couples, with both partners working full-time and with at least one child under age 14, had a higher average annual income in 1991 (\$75,700) than did their single-earner counterparts (\$49,600), according to the Family Expenditures Survey, 1992. Not surprisingly, these families also spent more that year on each of the broad categories of goods and services, such as food, clothing and shelter. Proportions of average family budgets allocated to these broad categories, however, were similar between both family types.

According to the of Family Expenditures Survey, there were about 540,000 households composed of spouses who both worked full-time throughout 1992 and had at least one child under age 14. Another 400,000 households were single-earner families¹ with children under age 14. In these households, one spouse, usually the husband (92%), worked full-time and one spouse was not employed. An additional 850,000 households were couples, with children under age 14, with one partner working part-time and one partner working full-time.

Dual earners spend more, on average, on restaurant food... Although the average size of dual-earner and single-earner households with children under age 14 were identical in 1992 (4.1 people), dual earners spent about \$1,500 more on food than did single earners (\$8,350, compared with \$6,843). This is due partly to dual-earner households spending considerably more money on restaurants (\$2,223) than did single-earner households (\$1,334).

...and wives' clothing Wives in dual-earner households with both spouses working full-time and with children under age 14 spent about twice as much money on clothing (\$1,374), on average, as did wives in single-earner households with children that age (\$675). The gap was smaller between husbands: men in dual-earner households with children



under age 14 spent, on average, \$845 on their own clothing in 1992, compared with an average of \$636 among men in single-earner families. These dual earners spent more, on average, on children's clothing (\$1,546) than did their single-earner counterparts (\$911). This may be partly because single earners were more likely than dual earners to have infants and very young children. Younger children generally require less expensive clothing than older children.

Home ownership more common among dual earners Dual earners who both worked full-time and had children under age 14 spent more, on average, for shelter in 1992 (\$11,678) than did their single-earner counterparts (\$9,128). This is because dual earners (86%) were not only more likely than single earners (79%) to own a home, they were also more likely to have purchased a larger and more expensive home. In 1992, homes of dual earners averaged 7.4 rooms, while those of single earners averaged 6.7 rooms. Mortgage interest payments accounted for a large part of the difference

between the shelter expenditures of dual and single earners.

Dual-earner households have more appliances and electronics Dual earners who worked full-time and had children under age 14 also had a more extensive inventory of household appliances and home entertainment equipment than did their single-earner counterparts. Differences were not large, however, with the biggest gap related to the ownership of gas barbecues: 80% of dual earners had one in 1992, compared with 71% of single earners. The proportion of dual earners owning labour saving appliances such as washers, dryers or dishwashers was only 4 to 5 percentage points higher among dual earners than among single earners. VCRs had almost reached a saturation point among dual earners, with 93% owning one. VCRs were also common among single earners (82%).

Home computer equipment, while less prevalent overall, was owned by 38% of dual earners, compared with 27% of single earners. Home computer ownership may help parents fulfil workplace requirements, as well as

assist both parents and children with their education programs. In 1992, dual-earner households were twice as likely as single-earner households to have expenditures for postsecondary education.

Single earners (92%) were slightly less likely than dual earners (97%) to operate a car or truck for personal use. Expenditures on driver's licenses indicate that fewer members of single-earner families maintain a driver's license. In 1992, 59% of dual-earner households, compared with 50% of single-earner households paid to obtain or renew one or more driver's licenses.

Dual earners more likely to have recreation equipment and vacation homes

Overall, dual earners who both worked full-time and who had children under age 14 spent more, on average, than did single earners with one spouse working full-time and children under age 14 on recreation equipment. The few exceptions tend to be equipment common among families with young children, such as playground equipment, cameras and film. Except for bowling, dual earners spent more for every type of recreation service. This was also true for all types of reading material. Dual-earner households (53%) were more likely than single-earner households (45%) to have dogs or cats.

Dual-earner households, often with more discretionary income than single-earner households, were more likely to have purchased vacation-related items in 1992. Six percent of dual earners owned a vacation home, compared with 4% of single earners. Similarly, 9% of dual earners rented vacation homes, compared with 6% of single earners. In addition, dual-earner households (54%) were more likely than single-earner households (46%) to have used traveller accommodation, such as hotels and motels.

Children's care and education

Child-care expenses (excluding occasional baby-sitting) are more common, as well as much greater, in dual-earner households with both spouses working

full-time and children under age 14 than in households of their single-earner counterparts. In 1992, 46% of dual earners, compared with 15% of single earners, had expenditures for child care. Of those with expenditures, the average cost was \$3,072 for dual-earner households, compared with \$986 for single-earner households. Dual-earner households, on average, spent more than twice as much on children's camps (\$74) as did single earners (\$32).

Charitable donations and savings

Single-earner households spent, on average, less on gifts and contributions in 1992 (\$898) than did dual-earner

households (\$1,207). However, single earners contributed, on average, the same amount to religious organizations (\$312) as did dual earners (\$320).

During 1992, dual-earner households saved or invested an average of about \$4,670² (including home equity). Traditional-earner households, on the other hand, saved or invested an average of only about \$200.

¹ These are called single-earner households and not traditional-earner households because in some the wife is the sole earner.

² This represents the difference between any investment in assets and any increase in debt during 1992.

Average household expenditures, 1992

CST

	All households	Couples with children under age 14	
		Dual earners ¹	Single earners ²
		\$	
Food	5,686	8,350	6,843
Shelter	8,102	11,678	9,128
Household operation (including child care)	1,974	3,841	2,042
Household furnishings and equipment	1,372	2,224	1,642
Clothing	2,222	4,030	2,405
Transportation	5,640	8,022	6,450
Health care	867	1,268	1,044
Personal care	844	1,316	987
Recreation	2,300	3,683	2,481
Reading, printed matter	248	352	245
Education	430	774	433
Tobacco and alcohol	1,410	1,587	1,199
Miscellaneous	1,322	1,852	1,191
Total current consumption	32,416	48,977	36,090
Personal taxes	9,378	17,187	11,190
Security (insurance and premiums)	2,289	4,696	2,750
Gifts and contributions	1,464	1,207	898
Total expenditures	45,548	72,067	50,928

¹ Couple worked full-year full-time.

² One parent worked full-year full-time, the other did not work.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Family Expenditures, 1992.

Measuring traditional- and dual-earner families

Estimates of traditional- and dual-earner families, by selected age groups, were derived from the Survey of Consumer Finances Public-use Microdata Files. Some microdata file records have been edited to protect confidentiality. Consequently, derived estimates will differ marginally from those obtained from unmodified Statistics Canada files. However, the analysis and conclusions are unaffected by these differences.

Families are classed as having been traditional or dual earner based on their circumstances at the time the Surveys of Consumer Finances were taken. Over the life course, however, families may move from one class to another, as spouses enter or leave the labour force to accommodate changing family responsibilities and needs.



This was down from a gap of 23% in 1987, but up substantially from a gap of 14% in 1967.

The widest gap between the incomes of traditional- and dual-earner families in 1991 occurred among families in which the husband was under age 55. Among families in which the husband was under age 40, the average income was 24% lower for traditional earners (\$43,000) than for dual earners (\$56,400). The average income of traditional-earner families in which the husband was aged 40-54 (\$53,800) was 27% lower than that of dual-earner families with husbands that age (\$73,800). Among families in which the husband was aged 55 and over, the average family income of traditional earners (\$57,300) was 18% less than that of dual earners (\$70,000).

Earnings of wives responsible for higher dual-earner incomes

The average income of traditional-earner families is lower than that of dual-earner families not because husbands in dual-earner couples have higher earnings, but because the earnings of wives contribute significantly to dual-earner family income. The contribution to family income made by the earnings of other family members is minimal.

In 1991, the average earnings of husbands under age 40 in traditional-earner families (\$36,400) exceeded that of

husbands in dual-earner families (\$32,400). Husbands in older age groups earned similar amounts. In 1991, the average earnings of husbands aged 40-54 in both family types was \$41,000. Likewise, the average earnings of husbands aged 55 and over in both family types was \$32,000.

The earnings of wives in dual-earner couples, on average, accounted for close to 30% of total family income in 1991. That year, the average earnings of wives in dual-earner couples ranged from \$18,400 among those under age 40 to \$17,600 among those aged 55 and over. The proportion of family income contributed by wives' earnings ranged from a high of 33% in families with husbands under age 40 to a low of 25% in families with husbands aged 55 and over.

Government transfer payments, such as Family Allowances, the Child Tax Credit, Social Assistance and Unemployment Insurance, accounted for 10% of the income of traditional-earner families, compared with 6% of that of dual-earner families. Pensions, as well as investment income such as bonds, stocks and rental real estate, comprised 8% of the income of traditional-earner families, and 4% of that of dual-earner families. Earnings of family members, other than the husband and wife, accounted for 9% of the income of traditional-earner families and 5% of the income of dual-earner families.

Low family income more common among traditional earners

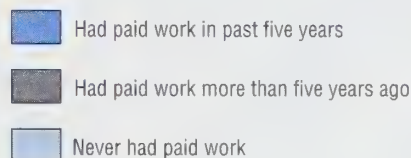
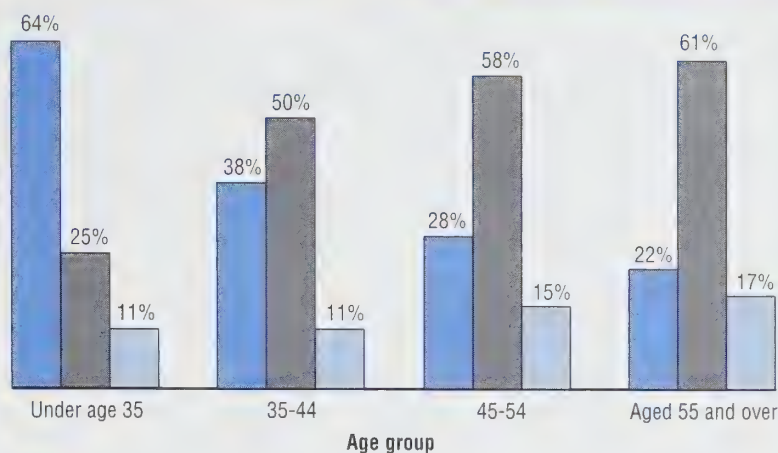
In 1991, 14% of traditional-earner families had incomes below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs¹ (LICOs), compared with 4% of dual-earner families. Low family incomes would have been more common among dual-earner families (15%) than among traditional-earner families, however, if the earnings of wives in dual-earner couples were not included in family income.

The incidence of low family income is higher among young traditional-earner families. In 1991, 22% of traditional-earner families with husbands under age 40 had low family incomes, compared with 12% of those with husbands aged 40-54 and 8% of those with husbands aged 55 and over. Among dual-earner families, the incidence of low income was much less common, with only 5% of families with husbands under age 40 and 3% of both families with husbands aged 40-54 and aged 55 and over having incomes below the LICOs.

Among traditional-earner families, 19% with children under age 18 and 22% with children under age 7 had incomes below the LICOs in 1991. In contrast, about 5% of dual earners with children under age 18 and with children under age 7 had family incomes that low. The incidence of low income would have been much higher among dual-earner families with children under age 18 (18%) and with children

Labour market experience of wives in traditional-earner families, 1991

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, Public-use Microdata File.

under age 7 (20%) if wives' earnings were not included in family income.

Traditional earners not likely to become more common Among the minority of young couples in which only the husband has paid employment, the wife has often left the labour force to care for young children. Unlike women of past generations, these women will likely return to the labour force when their childrearing responsibilities have lessened. This is partly because young women today are, on average, better educated and have more labour-market experience than older women. As well, many women value the self-esteem and financial independence that paid work can provide.

In most husband-wife families, however, both spouses have paid work because of financial pressures, as well as personal preferences. These families have become today's reality, and as a result, there is pressure on institutions, such as employers, schools and many other public- and private-sector services also to evolve. Improved access to flexible working hours and employment-leave arrangements, affordable and flexible child-care and elder-care arrangements, before- and after-school programs, and extended service-sector business hours are among the changes sought by dual-earner families.

¹ These cut-offs were determined from analysis of 1986 family expenditure data. Families who, on average, spent 20% more of their total income than did the average family on food, shelter and clothing were considered to have low incomes. The LICO for a family of three living in Canada's largest cities was \$25,761 in 1991.

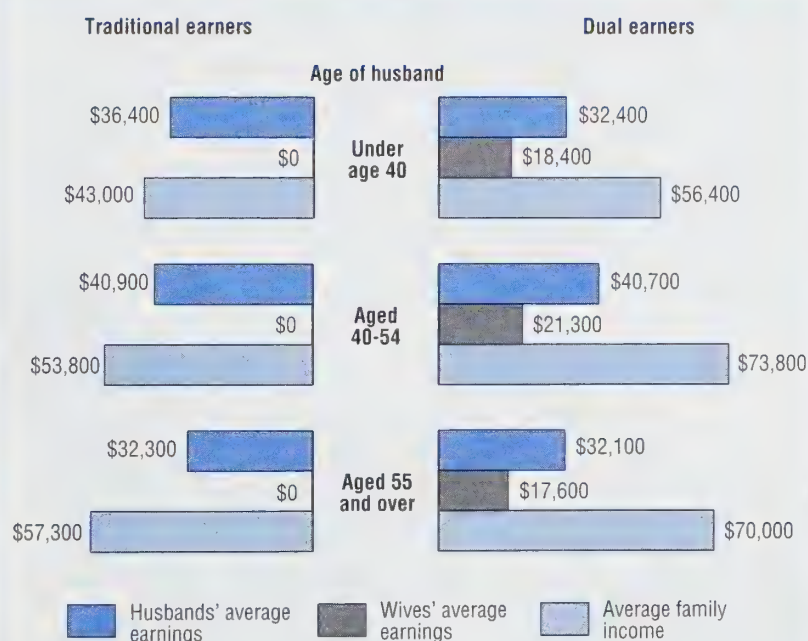
Jillian Oderkirk is an Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*, **Cynthia Silver** is Editor-in-Chief with *Canadian Social Trends*, and **Marc Prud'homme** is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends*.



1994 International Year of the Family
Année internationale de la famille

Earnings of husbands and wives and family income, by family type, 1991

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, Public-use Microdata File.

Two *by* Two?

by Robert Riordan

Sex Ratios of Unattached Canadians

More women than men in Canada are unattached, that is, they are not currently married or living in a common-law union. This does not necessarily mean, however, that men's chances of finding a spouse are greater than women's. This is because an overall comparison of the number of unattached men and women does not account for age, nor does it provide an indication of people's desire to be in a relationship.



According to the 1991 Census, there were 87 unattached men aged 15 and over for every 100 unattached women that age.¹ Among unattached Canadians under age 30, however, there were actually more men than women. In contrast, among unattached seniors, women far outnumbered men. Sex ratios in large urban centres tended to resemble this national pattern, whereas in smaller communities, imbalances in male to female ratios were generally more extreme at all ages.

Several factors influence the ratio of unattached men to women. They include the sex ratio at birth; migration; the presence of a military base or prison; the tendency of men to marry younger women; the greater likelihood of men than of women to find another partner when their marriage or common-law union ends; and mortality rates and life expectancy. Thus, in small Northern towns where occupations attract proportionately more men than women, and in communities where there is a military base or a prison for men, for example, unattached men tend to greatly outnumber women. In contrast, in communities with large senior populations or with nursing homes for seniors, women, who generally live longer than men, predominate.

More unattached men under age 30 in every region According to the 1991 Census, among unattached people aged 15-29, there were 120 men for every 100 women. This is largely because men tend to be older than women when they marry or enter a common-law union.

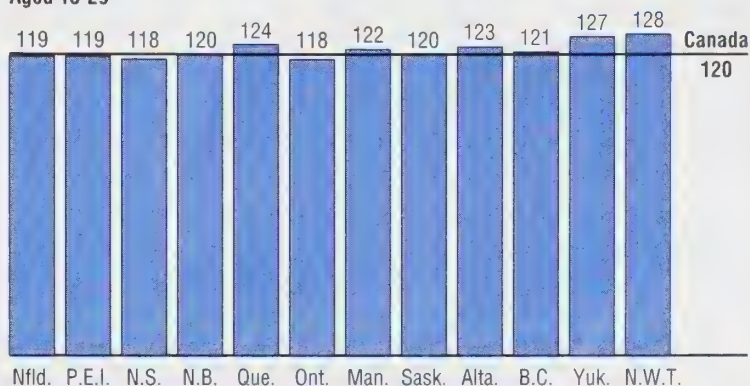
Among people under age 30, unattached men outnumbered women in all large urban areas and most small communities in 1991. Differences were not as great, however, in urban areas. Among Canada's five largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs), Montreal had the highest ratio of young unattached men to women (119 to 100), compared with 117 to 100 in Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull and Edmonton and 116 to 100 in Toronto. In contrast, there were more than 135 unattached men aged 15-29 for every 100 women that age

Sex ratios of unattached people, by province, 1991

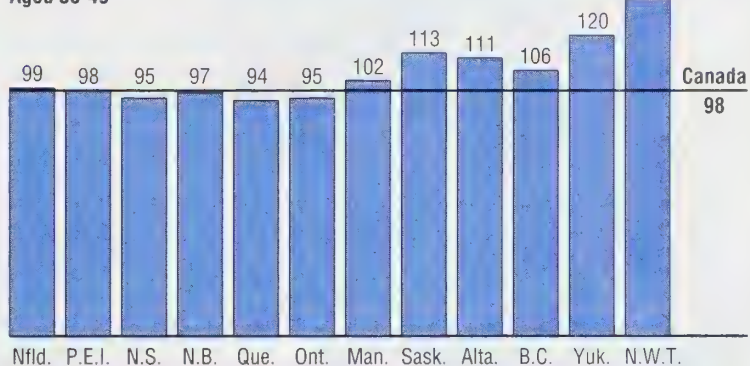
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Number of unattached men per 100 unattached women

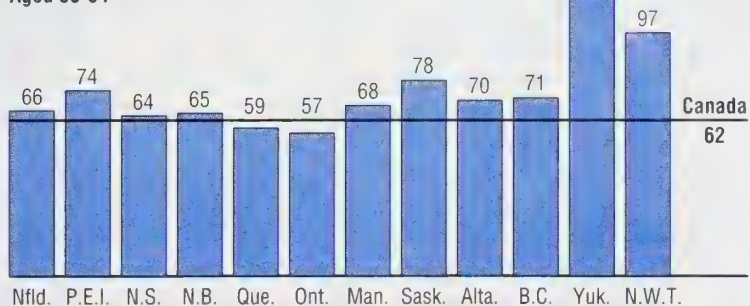
Aged 15-29



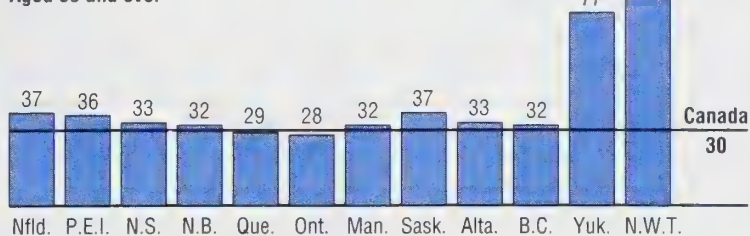
Aged 30-49



Aged 50-64



Aged 65 and over



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

¹ The sex ratio is a demographic tool to measure the balance between the numbers of males and females. In this article, sex ratios were calculated for unattached people (those not married or living common law) by dividing the number of unattached men aged 15 and over by the number of unattached women that age, and multiplying by 100.

in the smaller communities of Val-d'Or and Cowansville, Quebec and Fort St. John, British Columbia. The imbalance among unattached young adults was even greater in Grand Centre, Alberta and Estevan, Saskatchewan, where there were more than 150 men for every 100 women. Only in North Battleford, Saskatchewan and Brandon, Manitoba were the numbers of young unattached men and women equal.

Differences were not as great across provinces and territories as across cities and towns. The Northwest Territories, the Yukon and Quebec had the highest sex ratios in 1991, with 128, 127 and 124, unattached men aged 15-29, respectively, for every 100 comparable women. Nova Scotia and Ontario had the lowest ratio, with 118 unattached young men for every 100 women.

Nationally, similar numbers of unattached male and female baby boomers As most people aged 30-49 – the baby-boom generation – are either married or living common law, it is not surprising that the numbers of unattached men and women that age are similar. In 1991, among unattached baby boomers, there were 98 men for every 100 women.

The ratio of unattached men to women aged 30-49 generally is lower in Eastern than in Western CMAs. Among Canada's five largest CMAs, Montreal and Ottawa-Hull each had a sex ratio of 90 unattached men for every 100 women in 1991, compared with 91 to 100 in Toronto, 103 to 100 in Edmonton and 104 to 100 in Vancouver. In some smaller Western and Northern communities, unattached male baby boomers greatly outnumber their female counterparts. In 1991, there were about 150 unattached men aged 30-49 for every 100 comparable women in Prince Rupert, British Columbia; Fort McMurray and Grand Centre, Alberta; and Estevan, Saskatchewan. In Kitimat, British Columbia,

the difference was even more extreme, with over 200 unattached men for every 100 women.

On the other hand, unattached women in their 30s and 40s lived in disproportionate numbers in Rimouski and Matane, Quebec; Edmundston, New Brunswick; and Brandon, Manitoba: each with 77 men for every 100 women in 1991. The gap was greatest in Joliette, Quebec, where there were only 72 unattached men per 100 women.

The East-to-West pattern that existed for the CMAs in 1991 was reflected in provincial sex ratios. Ontario and provinces to the East had fewer unattached men than women aged 30-49, and the Western provinces and the Territories had more.

Quebec had the lowest ratio (94 unattached men for every 100 women), while the Northwest Territories had the highest at 135 per 100.

Wider gap in sex ratio of unattached people aged 50-64

In 1991, there were only 62 unattached men aged 50-64 for every 100 women that age in Canada. In this age group, including "war babies" and children of the Depression, the higher mortality rate and shorter lifespan of men than of women begins to strongly influence the sex ratio. A second major influence is the greater likelihood of men than of women to find another partner after a relationship has ended.

For the most part, the sex ratio among unattached people aged 50-64 was lower in the East than in the West in 1991, similar to the pattern for the baby boomers. That year, for every 100 unattached

women aged 50-64, the Toronto and Ottawa-Hull CMAs each had 53 comparable men and the Montreal CMA had 54. In contrast, the Edmonton CMA had 65 unattached men aged 50-64 for every 100 women and the Vancouver CMA, 67.

Large differences in the numbers of unattached men and women aged 50-64 were most noticeable in Camrose, Alberta (42 men per 100 women); Woodstock and Cobourg, Ontario (43 and 45 men per 100 women, respectively); Edmundston, New Brunswick (44 men per 100 women); and Gander, Newfoundland (38 men per 100 women).

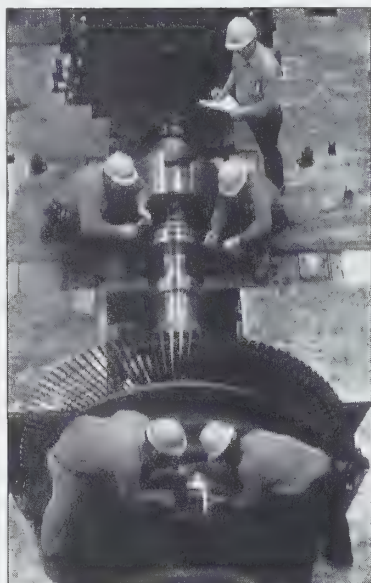
In communities where unattached men aged 50-64 outnumbered comparable women, they did so by a much smaller margin. As is the case in the younger age groups, unattached men tended to be relatively numerous in some of Canada's more remote communities. In Terrace and Kitimat, British Columbia, unattached men aged 50-64 outnumbered women by ratios of 114 and 120 to 100, respectively. The ratio was only marginally higher in Fort McMurray, Alberta (122 to 100) and in Thompson, Manitoba (126 to 100). The highest ratio in this age category was in Labrador City, Newfoundland, where there were 133 unattached men aged 50-64 for

every 100 unattached women of the same age.

Provincial and territorial sex ratios among unattached people aged 50-64 followed the national pattern of fewer unattached men than women. The ratio of unattached men aged 50-64 to comparable women was most balanced in the Northwest Territories, at 97 to 100. Ontario had the lowest ratio, with only 57 unattached men per 100 women.

Unattached senior women greatly outnumber senior men

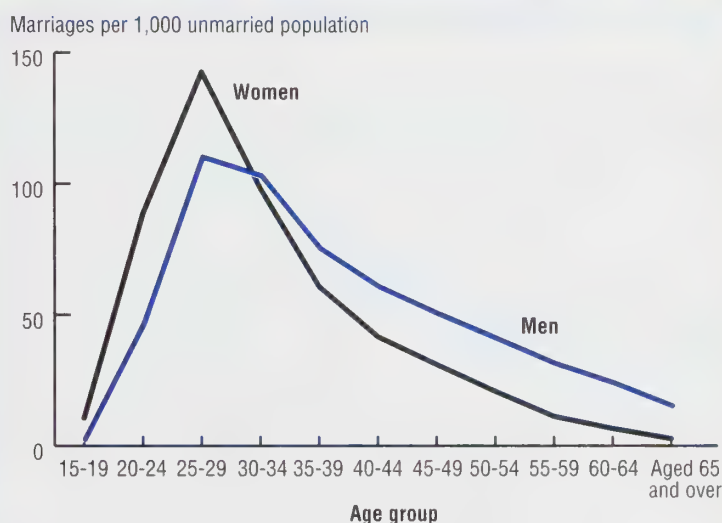
Among unattached seniors aged 65 and over, there were only 30 men for every 100 women in 1991. Men's life expectancy tends to be shorter than women's, leaving many senior women widowed, and therefore unattached. In



CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Marriage rate The marriage rate (the number of people who marry in a given year for every 1,000 single, widowed or divorced people) peaks for people aged 25-29 and drops steadily for older age groups. Up to age 30, women's marriage rate is higher than men's and consequently, unattached men outnumber unattached women. Among those aged 30-34, the marriage rate is similar for both genders. After age 40, men are consistently more likely to marry than are women. For example, men aged 50-54 were twice as likely to marry in 1990 as were their female counterparts (41 of every 1,000 men, compared with 21 of every 1,000 women). Men in their early 60s were four times as likely as women to marry (24 of every 1,000 men, compared with less than 7 of every 1,000 women).

Marriage rates, 1990



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 82-003S16.

Ratio at birth, mortality and migration main determinants of overall sex ratios In general, 105 boys are born for every 100 girls. Because of higher mortality rates among males than females, however, the sex ratio drops with every birthday. By the time people are in their 40s, the sex ratio is roughly equal. From then on, the ratio of men to women steadily decreases.

Selective migration may also contribute to an imbalanced sex ratio. For example, young men seeking to improve their financial situation may be attracted to Northern communities where high-wage occupations exist. Other people may move in order to advance their education or to improve their skills or job opportunities. Relatively mild climates, such as in British Columbia or Southern Ontario, may attract retired people.

Between 1986 and 1991, men aged 35-54 were more likely than women that age to migrate. The reverse held true for younger and older age groups.

addition, women who have never married are more likely to survive to old age than are men in that situation.

Sex ratios for unattached seniors in Canada's largest CMAs closely resembled the national ratio. For every 100 unattached senior women, there were 30 men in both Vancouver and Edmonton, 27 in Toronto, 26 in Montreal and 25 in Ottawa-Hull.

The imbalance was even more extreme in some smaller communities. In Tillsonburg, Ontario, for example, there were only 20 unattached senior men for every 100 comparable women. Ratios were also small in Port Hope, Cobourg and Chatham, Ontario, and in Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec, where there were just over 20 men for every 100 women in the unattached senior population.

Only one community in 1991 among those studied had a balanced sex ratio among seniors. In Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, where the number of unattached seniors is very small, there was the same number of men as women. The community with the next highest representation of unattached senior men was Whitehorse, Yukon, where there were 65 men for every 100 women.

There was no East-to-West pattern in provincial sex ratios for unattached seniors in 1991. However, among seniors, as was the case among younger unattached people, men were relatively more numerous than women in the Territories. In 1991, there were 77 unattached senior men for every 100 women in the Yukon, and 84 per 100 in the Northwest Territories. Provincial ratios for unattached seniors ranged from 28 men per 100 women in Ontario to 37 per 100 in Saskatchewan and Newfoundland.

Robert Riordan is a senior analyst with the Population Estimates Section, Demography Division, Statistics Canada.



ANNUAL LABOUR FORCE ESTIMATES, 1946-1993

CST

	Population aged 15 and over (000s)	Labour force (000s)			Participation rate (%)	Unemployment rate (%)	Employment/ population ratio (%)
		Total	Employed	Unemployed			
1946	8,779	4,829	4,666	163	55.0	3.4	53.1
1947	9,007	4,942	4,832	110	54.9	2.2	53.6
1948	9,141	4,988	4,875	114	54.6	2.3	53.3
1949	9,268	5,055	4,913	141	54.5	2.8	53.0
1950	9,615	5,163	4,976	186	53.7	3.6	51.8
1951	9,732	5,223	5,097	126	53.7	2.4	52.4
1952	9,956	5,324	5,169	155	53.5	2.9	51.9
1953	10,164	5,397	5,235	162	53.1	3.0	51.5
1954	10,391	5,493	5,243	250	52.9	4.6	50.5
1955	10,597	5,610	5,364	245	52.9	4.4	50.6
1956	10,807	5,782	5,585	197	53.5	3.4	51.7
1957	11,123	6,008	5,731	278	54.0	4.6	51.5
1958	11,388	6,137	5,706	432	53.9	7.0	50.1
1959	11,605	6,242	5,870	372	53.8	6.0	50.6
1960	11,831	6,411	5,965	446	54.2	7.0	50.4
1961	12,053	6,521	6,055	466	54.1	7.1	50.2
1962	12,280	6,615	6,225	390	53.9	5.9	50.7
1963	12,536	6,748	6,375	374	53.8	5.5	50.9
1964	12,817	6,933	6,609	324	54.1	4.7	51.6
1965	13,128	7,141	6,862	280	54.4	3.9	52.3
1966 ¹	13,083	7,493	7,242	251	57.3	3.4	55.4
1967	13,444	7,747	7,451	296	57.6	3.8	55.4
1968	13,805	7,951	7,593	358	57.6	4.5	55.0
1969	14,162	8,194	7,832	362	57.9	4.4	55.3
1970	14,528	8,395	7,919	476	57.8	5.7	54.5
1971	14,872	8,639	8,104	535	58.1	6.2	54.5
1972	15,186	8,897	8,344	553	58.6	6.2	54.9
1973	15,526	9,276	8,761	515	59.7	5.5	56.4
1974	15,924	9,639	9,125	514	60.5	5.3	57.3
1975	16,323	9,974	9,284	690	61.1	6.9	56.9
1976	16,701	10,203	9,477	726	61.1	7.1	56.7
1977	17,051	10,500	9,651	849	61.6	8.1	56.6
1978	17,377	10,895	9,987	908	62.7	8.3	57.5
1979	17,702	11,231	10,395	836	63.4	7.4	58.7
1980	18,053	11,573	10,708	865	64.1	7.5	59.3
1981	18,368	11,899	11,001	898	64.8	7.5	59.9
1982	18,608	11,926	10,618	1,308	64.1	11.0	57.1
1983	18,805	12,109	10,675	1,434	64.4	11.8	56.8
1984	18,996	12,316	10,932	1,384	64.8	11.2	57.5
1985	19,190	12,532	11,221	1,311	65.3	10.5	58.5
1986	19,397	12,746	11,531	1,215	65.7	9.5	59.4
1987	19,642	13,011	11,861	1,150	66.2	8.8	60.4
1988	19,890	13,275	12,245	1,031	66.7	7.8	61.6
1989	20,141	13,503	12,486	1,018	67.0	7.5	62.0
1990	20,430	13,681	12,572	1,109	67.0	8.1	61.5
1991	20,746	13,757	12,340	1,417	66.3	10.3	59.5
1992	21,058	13,797	12,240	1,556	65.5	11.3	58.1
1993	21,392	13,946	12,383	1,562	65.2	11.2	57.9

¹ Includes the population aged 15 and over beginning in 1966. Data prior to 1966 are based on the population aged 14 and over. Estimates for 1966 to 1974 have been adjusted to conform to current concepts. Estimates prior to 1966 have not been revised.



SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,203.8 IR	26,549.7 IR	26,894.8 IR	27,379.3 IR	27,790.6 IR	28,117.6 PR	28,435.6 PR	28,753.0 PP
Annual growth (%)	1.0 IR	1.3 IR	1.3 IR	1.8 IR	1.5 IR	1.2 PR	1.1 PR	1.1 PP
Immigration ¹	88,639 F	130,813 F	152,413 F	178,152 F	202,979 F	219,250 F	239,435 R	257,465 P
Emigration ¹	50,595 F	47,707 F	40,978 F	40,395 F	39,760 F	43,692 PR	48,519 PR	46,437 PP
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.7	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3 R	14.0	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.1	6.4	*	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	*	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	915	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,531	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383
– goods sector (000s)	3,477	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302
– service sector (000s)	8,054	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082
Total unemployment (000s)	1,215	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562
Unemployment rate (%)	9.5	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2
Part-time employment (%)	15.5	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3
Women's participation rate (%)	55.3	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	34.1	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	36,858	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	*
% of families with low income (1986 Base)	13.6	13.1	12.2	11.1	12.1	13.1	13.3	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.8	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	*	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,938.0	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4 F	5,295.1 P	*
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	796.9	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4 R	917.4 R	946.3 P
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,218	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673 R	2,947	3,136 R	*
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.5	*	*	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	41.4	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	*	*
– women	44.9	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	*	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	25.9	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	*	*
– women	25.5	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	*	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	6.0	5.9	5.9	6.0	6.2	*	*	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	808	856	898	948	1,013	1,100 R	1,122	*
– property	5,714	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841 R	6,394 R	6,110	*
– homicide	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.8 R	2.7	*
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1990 \$000,000)	159,560.3 R	163,207.6 R	165,341.3 R	171,434.6 R	175,640.0	*	*	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.4	56.1	56.2	56.2	56.7	*	*	*
– as a % of GDP	26.1	25.5	24.7	24.9 R	26.2 R	*	*	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,136.7	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	*
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,652.2	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	*
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,892.9	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	*
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+3.3	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4 R	-0.2 R	-1.7	+0.7 R	*
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.2	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8
Urban housing starts	170,863	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988
– Not available * Not yet available P Preliminary data E Estimate m Figures as of March IR Revised intercensal estimates PP Preliminary postcensal estimates PR Updated postcensal estimates R Revised data F Final data ¹ For year ending June 30 ² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

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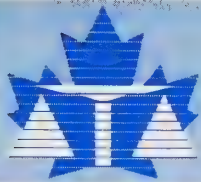
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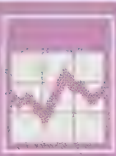
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About the artist:

Born in West Germany (1936), **Horst Guilhauman** received his initial education in graphic arts in Germany. Mr. Guilhauman immigrated to Canada in 1967 and has established himself as a leading exponent of "renouveau romantique" painting in Canada. His work is story-telling at its best, as he captures his subjects in their own intimate environment. He currently resides in Wolfville, Nova Scotia.



Marriage in Canada: Changing Beliefs and Behaviours, 1600-1990	2
<i>Adapted by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	
Common-law Unions: The Quebec Difference	8
<i>by Jo-Anne Belliveau, Jillian Oderkirk and Cynthia Silver</i>	
Births Outside Marriage: A Growing Alternative	14
<i>by Marilyn Belle and Kevin McQuillan</i>	
Street Prostitution in Canada	18
<i>by Lee Wolff and Dorota Geissel</i>	
Albertans' Opinions on Street Prostitution	23
<i>by Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot</i>	
Drug Use Among Senior Canadians	25
<i>by Michael Bergob</i>	
Provincial Differences in Health Practices	30
Social Indicators	35

Cumulative Index of Articles - Winter 1993 Issue

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Editor-in-Chief	Cynthia Silver
Editors	Jo-Anne Belliveau Jillian Oderkirk
Production Co-ordinator	Cheryl Sarazin
Marketing Co-ordinator	Alex Solis
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Marriage in Canada

Changing
Beliefs and
Behaviours
1600-1990

Adapted by Jillian Oderkirk

From Jean Dumas, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1992*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-209E and Jean Dumas and Yves Péron, *Marriage and Conjugal Life in Canada*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-534E.

From the beginning of Canada's colonial period until the 1960s, most Canadians viewed marriage as a lifetime commitment, and the only circumstances under which a couple could live together and raise a family. In the past twenty-five years, however, attitudes toward marriage have changed profoundly. Marriage is no longer necessarily a lifetime commitment, as a large minority of couples now divorce. Many Canadians of all ages do not consider marriage a necessary prerequisite to living with a partner and have chosen common-law arrangements – sometimes temporary, sometimes permanent. Mainly for this reason, births outside of marriage are not as unusual and the legal distinction between legitimate and illegitimate births has been abolished.

Although these changes have affected the stability and exclusivity of marriage, they have not caused the institution to disappear. Indeed, the majority of Canadians are still expected to marry, at least once, before their 50th birthday. Compared with twenty-five years ago, however, marriage is now less prevalent, occurs later in life and often does not last long enough for couples to raise their families.

Marriage beliefs and practices From its remote origins, the traditional marital institution was a means of passing assets, real or symbolic, from one generation to another. Satisfaction of spouses was not considered very important and dissatisfaction with a marriage was not grounds for breaking a union. This rationale for traditional marriage made divorce virtually impossible and marriage annulments were almost the only way to terminate a union. Divorce only became possible when marriage began to be based on spousal affection and fulfilment. When such fulfilment lapsed, spouses could seek a break of the union. Despite this, few divorces occurred. At that time, large families were common, and the resultant childrearing responsibilities limited women's access to the labour market. The institution of marriage was also reinforced by churches that considered the union sacred.

Social changes in the last few decades, however, have eroded these century-old beliefs and practices. The change with perhaps the greatest impact was the emergence

of widely available, reliable birth-control methods. This facilitated a huge decrease in fertility and family size and, in turn, gave women greater opportunity to achieve financial independence. Following these changes, it became more difficult for religious institutions to keep couples together who wanted to break their marriage bonds. Increased societal demand for legal dissolution of marriages led to the emergence of laws liberalizing divorce.

Colonization: men married late, women married early

During Canada's colonization in the 17th century, Europeans emigrating to Canada predominantly were men. The imbalance between the genders resulted in women marrying at young ages and in men, many of whom had difficulty finding a partner, marrying at older ages or not at all. Data from this period are limited to the colony of New France.

In New France, Roman Catholic marriage and the civil laws of France were adopted and records of marriages were maintained by the church. Divorce was illegal because the Roman Catholic religion considered marriage a sacrament that could not be dissolved, even after the physical separation of spouses.

Most early Quebec settlers were unmarried men who came to the colony as soldiers or indentured workers. Because there were few women to accommodate the resultant demand for wives, Louis XIV of France recruited 800 young women of marriageable age to travel to the colony between 1663 and 1673. Nonetheless, before 1700 there were still two men for every woman among the colonists. This imbalance resulted in a high proportion of early marriages among women born between 1640 and 1679. The average age at first marriage of women was 20, while the average age of men was 28. The imbalance lessened for those born from 1700 to 1739. Women's age at first marriage increased to 23, while that of men fell slightly to 27.

During 19th century, many married late or not at all

Cultural beliefs among people in Canada in the 1800s, most of whom were immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, reflected those prevalent in their countries of origin. In Northern and Western Europe, children

who were not heirs to the family estate usually left the family home when they married. In contrast, in Southern and Eastern Europe, it was common for married children to remain in one of their parent's households.

Throughout this period, households were the unit for the production of goods and services, and setting up an independent home required a large investment. To afford a marriage, young people in Northern and Western Europe often had to spend several years doing paid work. As a result, it was common for people to be either older when they married or to remain single.

Estimated from census records, the average age at marriage for both Canadian men and women in the 1800s was high. For example, among those born from 1821 to 1830,¹ the average age at first marriage was 26 for men and 23 for women. Among those born four decades later, 1861 to 1870, the average age at marriage rose to 29 for men and to 26 for women.

Fewer men and women born during the second half of the 19th century married than did their predecessors. The proportion of men still single at age 50 increased from 10% of those born from 1826 to 1845 to a high of 15% of those born from 1861 to 1865. Of men born during the remaining decades of the 19th century, the proportion who never married fluctuated between 13% and 14%. The pattern was similar among women, with the proportion who were still single at age 50 rising from just under 11% of those born before 1846 to 12% of those born from 1851 to 1870. Among women born during the remaining decades of the century, the proportion was about 11%.

Divorce unobtainable in 19th century Ontario and Quebec

Before Confederation, English civil law, which recognized religious marriages and civil marriages conducted by public officials, was established in the provinces, with the exception of Quebec. Under English civil law, cohabitation between unmarried people was considered a common-law marriage if the relationship was stable or resulted in children. Such unions were

¹ The average age at first marriage of birth cohorts includes only those married before age 50.

unusual, however, as most couples married. The various colonies were free to adopt English divorce laws, although only New Brunswick and Nova Scotia did so before Confederation. In Quebec, which maintained its own Civil Code under provisions of the *Quebec Act* of 1774, divorce was not legal.

The *British North America Act* of 1867, the terms of Confederation, respected regional diversity in marriage laws. Provincial legislatures were granted authority over marriage and the definition

of its legal effects, marriage annulment and legal separation. Jurisdiction over divorce was shared between the federal parliament that enacted the law and the provincial legislatures that gave their courts authority to grant divorces. Quebec and Ontario did not endow their courts with this authority and thus, divorce was unobtainable in Canada's two most populated provinces.

Conscription during World War II led to earlier marriages As was the case for

Canadians in the 19th century, those born during the early 20th century tended to marry late, and many did not marry at all – more than one-in-ten remained single at age 50. The economic problems of the early 1930s contributed to the postponement of many marriages. Among those born from 1906 to 1914, the average age at first marriage was 28 for men and 25 for women.

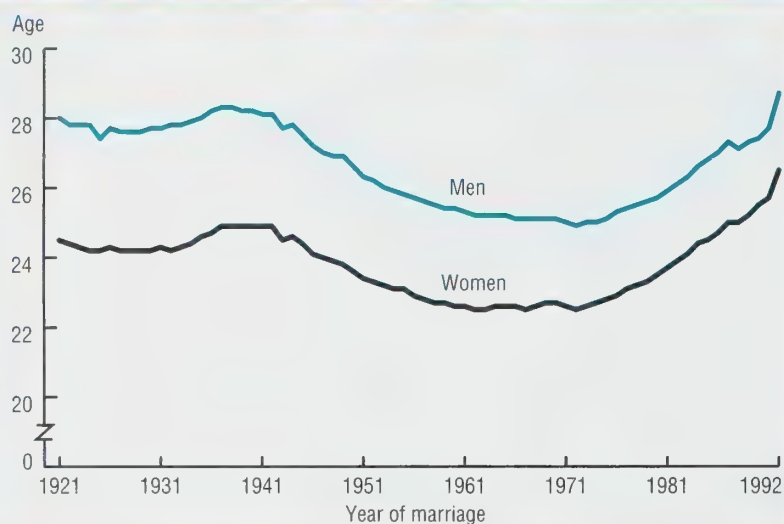
World War II caused an upswing in marriages culminating in 1940, 1941 and 1942. Canada entered the war in 1939, but was geographically far from the battlefield, and thus initially sent only career soldiers and volunteers. Conscription was extensively debated and was not decided upon until a 1942 referendum. During these years of uncertainty, the prospect of being drafted into the armed forces was a potent stimulant to marriage for young single men, since they would be called first to go to war. Among those born during the last half of the 1910s and early 1920s, the average age at first marriage dropped to 27 for men and to 24 for women.

Marriage earlier and more universal from mid-1940s to 1970 The generations who married following World War II, from the mid-1940s to the 1960s, were not only more likely to marry than their elders, but to do so at increasingly younger ages. The average age at first marriage among men dropped from 26 among those born from 1924 to 1929 to 25 among those born from 1930 to 1938. For women, the average age at first marriage fell from 23 among those born from 1924 to 1932 to 22 among those born from 1933 to 1938. In addition, the proportion remaining single at age 50 also dropped to under 5% of those born during the 1930s.

Those born in the 1940s also showed a strong tendency to marry. As of 1988, only 5% of those born from 1939 to 1943 had not married by age 45 and only 8% of those born from 1944 to 1948 had not married by age 40.

Since 1973, marriage is less common and occurs later in life It was not until 1973 that marriage rates among single people began dropping significantly and uninterruptedly, reaching levels in the 1980s and 1990s comparable with those at the height of the Great Depression. This decline led to a corresponding increase in

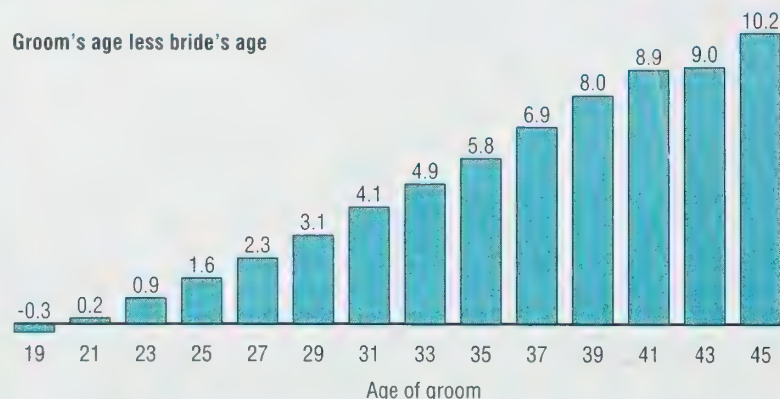
Average age at first marriage, 1921 to 1992



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-534E.

Age difference between spouses, by age of groom at marriage,¹ 1987

Groom's age less bride's age



¹ Includes only marriages between two single people.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-534E.

the proportion of young singles, which also reached or surpassed 1930s' levels.

Today, first marriages are not only less prevalent, they are also taking place later. By 1992, the average age at first marriage was 29 for men and 27 for women. This is an increase, for both genders, of three years since 1989 and four years since 1980. In contrast, during the 1960s and most of the 1970s, the average age at first marriage remained stable at 25 for men and 23 for women.

Following the propensity to marry observed in 1990, only 631 of every 1,000 men and 674 of every 1,000 women in Canada are expected to marry at least once before age 50. In contrast, from 1939 to 1972, total first marriage rates remained above 900 of every 1,000 men and women. Since the early 1970s, however, total marriage rates declined below 900 per 1,000, falling steadily to under 700 per 1,000 by 1980. This was the first time since the Great Depression that marriage rates were this low.

The total marriage rate in 1990 varied across Canada, particularly between Ontario and Quebec. Ontario appears to be a more traditional society with the highest total marriage rates of all provinces and territories. In 1990, 725 of every 1,000 men and 769 of every 1,000 women in Ontario were expected to marry at least once before age 50. In contrast, total marriage rates in Quebec, 438 per 1,000 men and 481 per 1,000 women, were the lowest in Canada with the exception of the Northwest Territories. In the Northwest Territories, where there is a large Aboriginal population among whom legal unions have always been less common, only 363 per 1,000 men and 372 per 1,000 women in 1990 were expected to marry at least once before age 50.

Divorce laws liberalized in 1968 Legal separation and annulment are integrated into Canadian civil laws and for centuries have been accepted by Christian churches, including the Roman Catholic Church. Until the 20th century, these were the only two recourses available to married couples in most provinces. Provincial courts have been empowered to grant divorce only since 1930 in Ontario, since 1945 in Prince Edward Island and since 1968 in Quebec and Newfoundland. Before then, it was possible to submit requests for divorce to

the federal parliament, but such requests were few. Existing laws were very restrictive and, generally, divorce was only granted with proof of adultery.

It was only after the 1968 *Divorce Act* that divorce became truly accessible in all provinces. This Act was innovative because it recognized lasting separation as sufficient grounds for divorce. The Act required that when a divorce was requested, an abandoned spouse must have been separated for three years and a departing spouse, for five years.

Couples already separated at the time of the Act were the first to benefit from this provision. Thus, these couples accounted for a more than doubling of divorces between 1968 (11,300) and 1970 (29,800). The first divorces under these new grounds were not granted until July 1971. After that, the number of divorces rose from 32,400 in 1972 to 54,200 in 1976.

A new *Divorce Act* that came into effect in the spring of 1986 resulted in an increase in divorces in 1986 and 1987. This Act reduced the minimum separation time to one year until a divorce could be granted. A decrease in divorces in 1984 and 1985 suggests that some couples, anticipating new legislation, postponed their divorce requests until after the Act came into effect. The number of divorces in the late 1980s peaked at 90,900 in 1987 before falling to 78,200 in 1990.

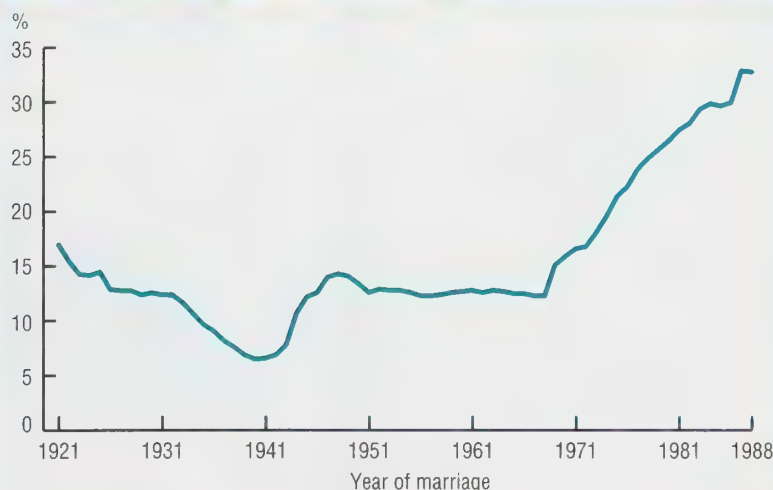
Marriages can be legally dissolved by either the death of a spouse, a divorce or an annulment. Since 1980, the proportion of legal marriages dissolved by divorce has risen dramatically and, as a result, divorce is rapidly becoming nearly as important a factor in marital dissolutions as the death of a spouse. While divorce accounted for only 2% of marriage dissolutions between the two world wars, it represented 9% to 12% of dissolutions during the 1950s and 1960s. Its share climbed to 28% in the early 1970s and reached 42% in 1990.

Rising divorce rates lead to an increase in remarriage Since the late 1960s, divorce has become more common and divorce rates have risen substantially. According to the 1990 total divorce rate, 3,800 of every 10,000 marriages would end in divorce before 25 years, an increase of almost three times since 1969 (1,400 per 10,000). Consequently, the annual number of people becoming eligible for remarriage has grown considerably, since each divorce adds two new people to the marriage pool, whereas the death of a spouse adds only one.

Unlike most widowed people, many re-entering the marriage pool after divorce are still at an age when the likelihood of finding a new partner is high. This continuous influx of many young marriageable

Proportion of marriages in which at least one spouse was previously married, 1921 to 1988

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-534E.

people has triggered a steep annual increase in remarriages since the 1960s. Over the same period, first marriages between single people have fallen sharply. This is partly because of an increase in the number of single people marrying divorced people and also because many single people are living common law.

Up to 1968, over 90% of both men and women who married were single before their marriage and the proportion who were divorced was less than 5%. Since then, the proportion of newly-married people who were single before their marriage has continued to decline for both genders. By 1988, about 75% of men and

women were single before their marriage, while about 20% were divorced. Combining people who had been widowed as well as those who were divorced, one-third of all marriages in 1988 included at least one spouse who was remarrying.

Early marriages most unstable

Marriages among teenagers are the most likely to result in divorce. From 1976 to 1987, the annual divorce rate for every 10,000 first marriages of men who were aged 15-19 at the time of their marriage was more than 5,000 every year except 1985 when it was 4,700.² Similarly, over that period, the divorce rate for every

10,000 women who married when they were aged 15-19 was more than 4,000 each year. In contrast, divorce rates among those aged 25 and older at the time of their first marriage were much lower. From 1976 to 1987, the annual number of divorces for 10,000 first marriages of people aged 25 and over at the time of their marriage was fewer than 4,000 among men and fewer than 3,500 among women each year.

Marriages of divorced women tend to be more unstable than those of single people or divorced men. This may be because divorced women often have custody of children from their previous marriages. In 1985, there were 1,600 divorces for every 10,000 marriages between a divorced woman and a single man, and 1,500 divorces for every 10,000 marriages between a divorced woman and a divorced man. In contrast, there were 1,300 divorces for every 10,000 marriages between a divorced man and a single woman, the same rate as that for marriages between two single people.

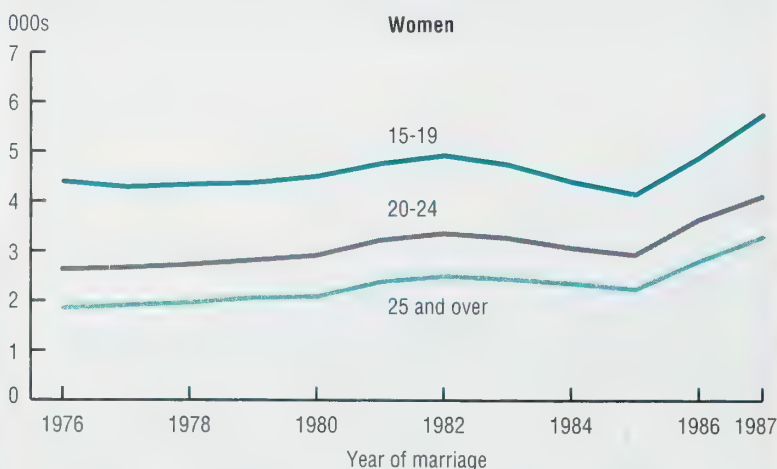
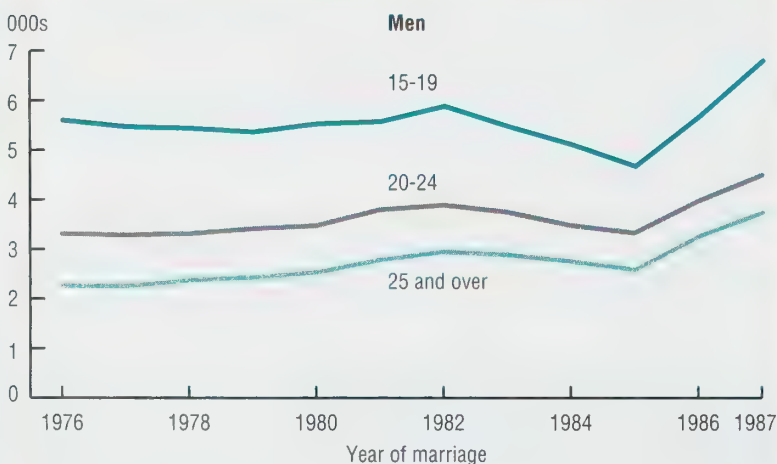
Cohabitation before marriage For three centuries, Canadians considered marriage necessary for establishing a conjugal relationship and, accordingly, people's first marriage coincided with the beginning of their first union. However, with each new generation born since World War II, marriage has become a less and less common part of early conjugal life.

According to the 1990 General Social Survey (GSS), people born just before or during World War II were the last to almost exclusively marry before living together as a couple. Among people aged 45-54 in 1990, only 5% of men and 2% of women had lived common law before marriage or before age 30. Following them, those born from 1946 to 1955, the first members of the baby boom, reached marriageable age at the same time that modern contraceptive methods became widely available. Among this group, 19% of men and 16% of women had lived common law before marriage or before age 30. Subsequent generations have been involved in common-law unions in greater numbers. Among those born from 1956 to 1960, 40% of men and 36% of women had lived common law before marriage or before age 30. Even higher proportions are expected for those born

Divorce rate for first marriages, by age at marriage, 1976 to 1987

CST

Divorces per 10,000 marriages



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-534E.

during the 1960s, many of whom are choosing common-law unions over marriage in early conjugal life.

According to the 1990 GSS, common-law unions were often a prelude to marriage. Slightly more than half of common-law unions formed during the 1970s resulted in marriages between the same partners. Of unions formed during the first half of the 1980s, more than 40% had been legalized at the time of the survey (42% among men and 46% among women). Presumably, for many couples, marriage is often already planned or expected when the union begins.

Most who reported that their first union was by common law were no longer living

common law in 1990, but had married either their common-law partner or another person. This was true for 75% of those who began a common-law union during the 1970s. For those who entered a common-law union during the first half of the 1980s, the proportion who were married by the time of the survey was lower (51% of men and 59% of women), but could increase with time.

In addition, most first common-law unions had led quite rapidly to either marriage or separation. Among those who entered their first union between 1980 and 1984, only 16% of men and 12% of women were still living common law with their first partner in 1990. The corresponding

proportions were even lower among first unions formed before 1980.

Future trends uncertain Following three centuries of relative stability, the institution of marriage has been in turmoil since the 1970s and the future of the institution is unclear. Marriage has become less of a prerequisite for a couple to live together and has tended to vanish from early conjugal life. Marriage also seems increasingly fragile, as marriage breakdown occurs more frequently and with increasing ease. Nevertheless, it appears that most singles who live common law eventually marry and many divorced people remarry.

Increasing marital instability combined with decreasing fertility affects society in several ways. More and more adults alternate between conjugal and solo-living periods, and there are fewer children. Private pacts between partners – common-law unions – whose terms can be questioned at any time by either partner without any social sanction, increasingly are being favoured over marriages. In addition, more and more children are being born into common-law families and as a result, divorce indices increasingly underestimate union breakdown and the formation of lone-parent families.

² The annual divorce rate includes all divorces from marriages lasting up to 25 years (90% of all divorces).

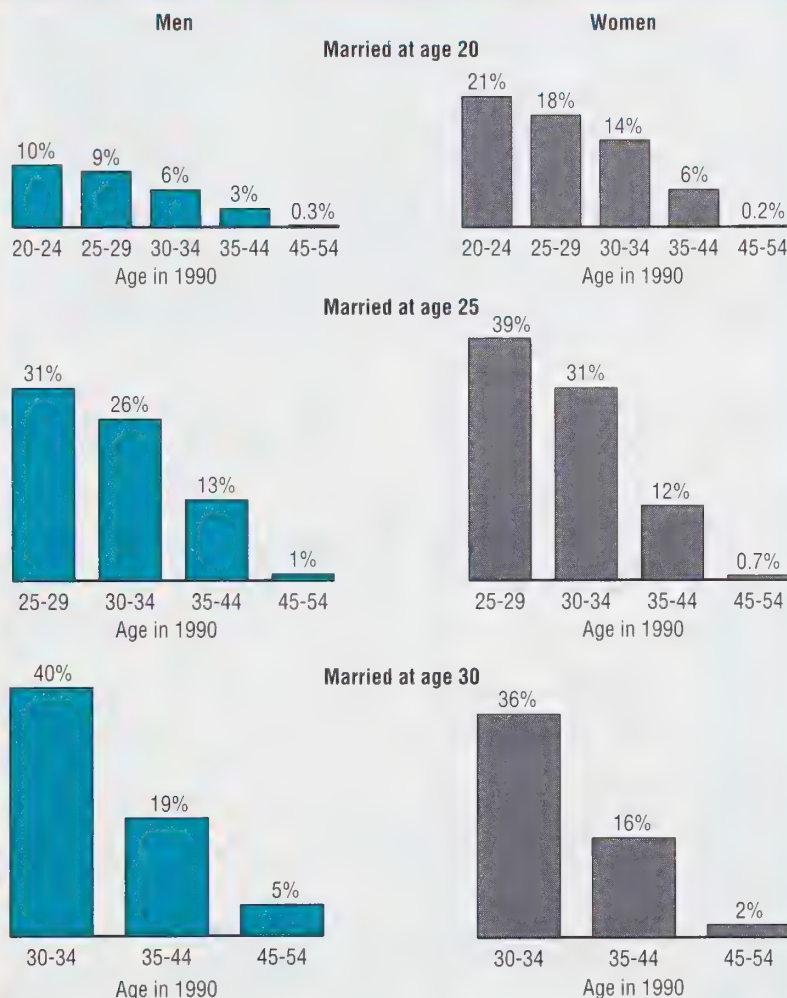
Jillian Oderkirk is an Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.



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Proportion of Canadians who lived together before marriage, 1990

GST



Source: Statistics Canada, 1990 General Social Survey.



common-law unions

People across Canada are increasingly choosing to live as couples outside the traditional legal bonds of marriage. This trend toward living common law, however, has been much more pronounced in Quebec than in other provinces. By 1991, the proportion of couples living common law in Quebec was double that in the other provinces, regardless of the age of common-law partners or the presence of children.

The Quebec Difference

by Jo-Anne Belliveau,
Jillian Oderkirk and
Cynthia Silver

The increasing prevalence of common-law unions reflects changing societal attitudes about the role of social and religious institutions in couples' living arrangements and in family life. This may be particularly true in Quebec where the institution of marriage has been strongly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church for most of the province's history. The decision to live common law also reflects individual needs and concerns. Some couples may choose this living arrangement to benefit from the financial advantages of sharing living expenses, without risking the emotional, legal and financial entanglements of a marriage. Other couples may live common law to assess their compatibility before entering into a legal marriage. Still others may believe that marriage is not necessarily a prerequisite to sustaining a long-term relationship and raising a family.

1.45 million living common law in 1991 In 1991, 1.45 million Canadians were living common law, an increase of almost 50% from 974,000 in 1986 and about double the number in 1981, 713,000. During that decade, however, increases were much faster in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. In Quebec, the number of people living common law increased 154% to 614,000 in 1991, compared with an increase of 76% in the rest of Canada. As a result, 42% of Canadians living common law were in Quebec in 1991, while only one-quarter of the total adult population lived there.

The proportion of families comprised of common-law couples increased to 10% in 1991 from 7% in 1986 and 6% in 1981. Over the same period, the proportion of married-couple families dropped to 77% from 83% and that of lone-parent families rose to 13% from 11%. Again, changes were much more dramatic in Quebec than those elsewhere in Canada. In Quebec, common-law families accounted for 16% of all families in 1991, more than double the proportion in 1981 (7%). In the rest of Canada, however, the proportion of common-law families rose to only 8% from 5%.

Rapid growth in common law in Quebec since 1981 In 1991, 19% of all couples¹ with or without children in Quebec were living common law, more than double the proportion in all other

provinces combined (9%). That year, individual provincial proportions ranged from 7% in Prince Edward Island and 8% in Newfoundland to 10% in Alberta and 11% in British Columbia.

The large difference between Quebec and the other provinces in the proportion of couples living common law is a recent phenomenon. In 1981, the proportion of couples in Quebec that chose a common-law arrangement was only 8%, just two percentage points higher than that for all other provinces (6%). That year, the proportion of couples living common law in Alberta and British Columbia equalled that in Quebec.

Of couples with children in Quebec, the percentage living common law more than tripled to 14% in 1991 from 4% in 1981. Over the same period, the proportion for all provinces outside of Quebec doubled to 6% from 3%. Among couples without children in Quebec, the proportion living common law almost doubled to 48% in 1991 from 26% in 1981. In the other provinces, it increased to 24% from 17%.

Almost two-thirds of young childless couples in Quebec were living common law In Quebec, of couples in which the woman was under age 35 and there were no children, 61% were living common law in 1991. This proportion was almost double that of the provinces outside of Quebec (32%). Although older couples with no children were less likely than

their younger counterparts to be living common law, proportions were higher at all ages in Quebec than in the other provinces. Among couples with no children in which the wife was aged 45-54, for example, 24% were living common law in Quebec, compared with 11% in the other provinces.

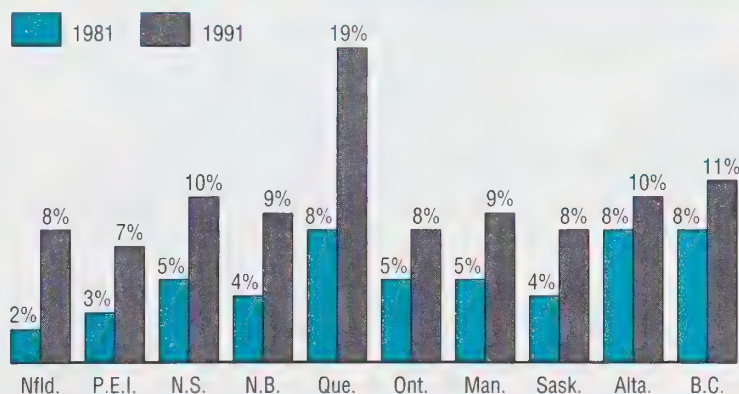
Common-law families have fewer and younger children

Across the provinces, common-law couples are less likely than married couples to have children. However, since 1981, the proportion of common-law families with children has been rising. In 1991, 41% of common-law families had children living at home, up from 34% in 1981. In contrast, 62% of married-couple families had children at home in 1991, down from 66% in 1981. The rising proportion of common-law families with children is due, at least in part, to common-law couples having children of their own. Another contributing factor is the increasing proportion of older people, who may have children from a previous relationship, living common law.

Common-law families in the provinces tend to have fewer children living at home than do married-couple families. In 1991, 54% of common-law couples with children had only one child, compared with 35% of married couples with children.

¹ Couples include both married and common-law partners and are referred to in Statistics Canada publications as husband-wife families.

Proportion of all couples¹ living common law, by province, 1981 and 1991

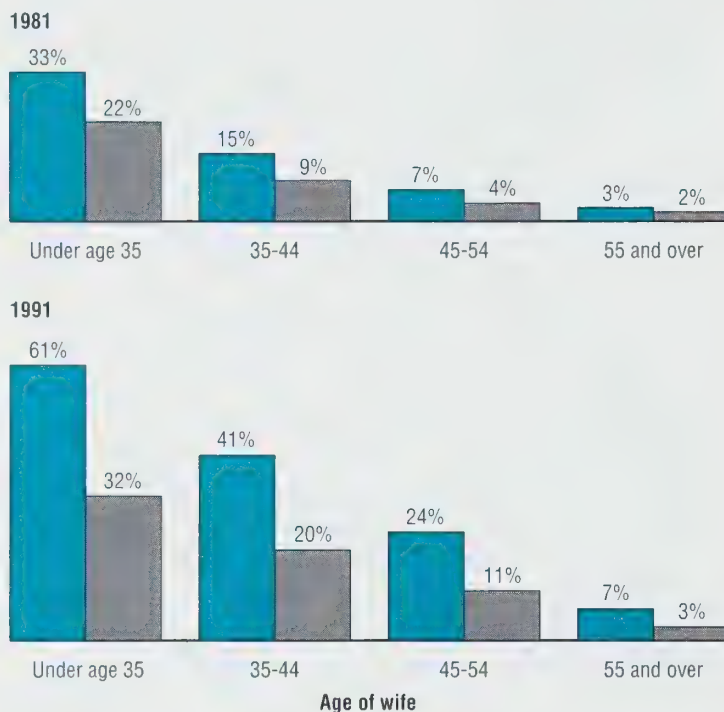


¹ Includes married and common-law couples with and without children.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 93-312 and 93-320.

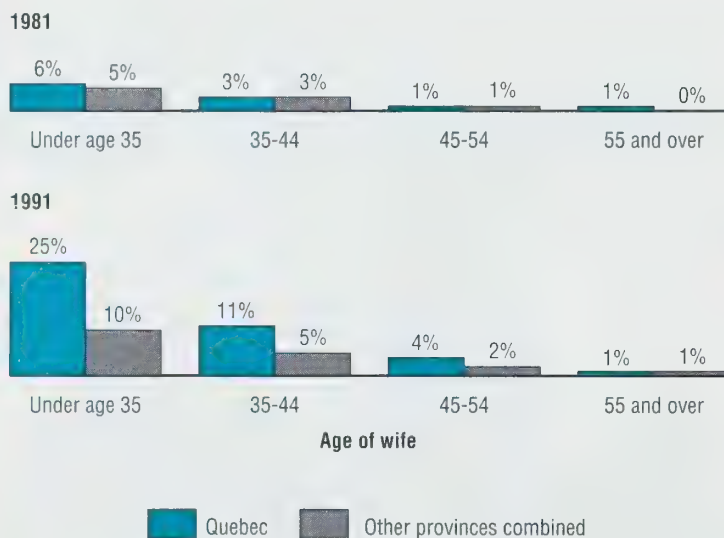
Proportion of all couples¹ living common law, Quebec and other provinces combined, 1981 and 1991

CST

Childless couples² % living common law



Couples with children % living common law



¹ Includes married and common-law couples.

² Includes only couples who have not yet had children.

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-320.

Also, among those with children, only 13% of common-law couples had three or more children, compared with 21% of married couples.

In 1991, among those with children, common-law couples were much more likely (54%) than married couples (34%) to have at least one child under age 6. At the same time, only 13% of common-law families had children aged 18 and over, compared with 34% of married-couple families. This is due mainly to the greater prevalence of common-law unions among young adults than among older people.

Common-law couples in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces generally were more likely than those in Ontario and the Western provinces to have children at home, a pattern similar to that among married-couple families. The proportion of common-law couples with at least one child ranged from a high of 52% in Newfoundland to a low of 37% in British Columbia.

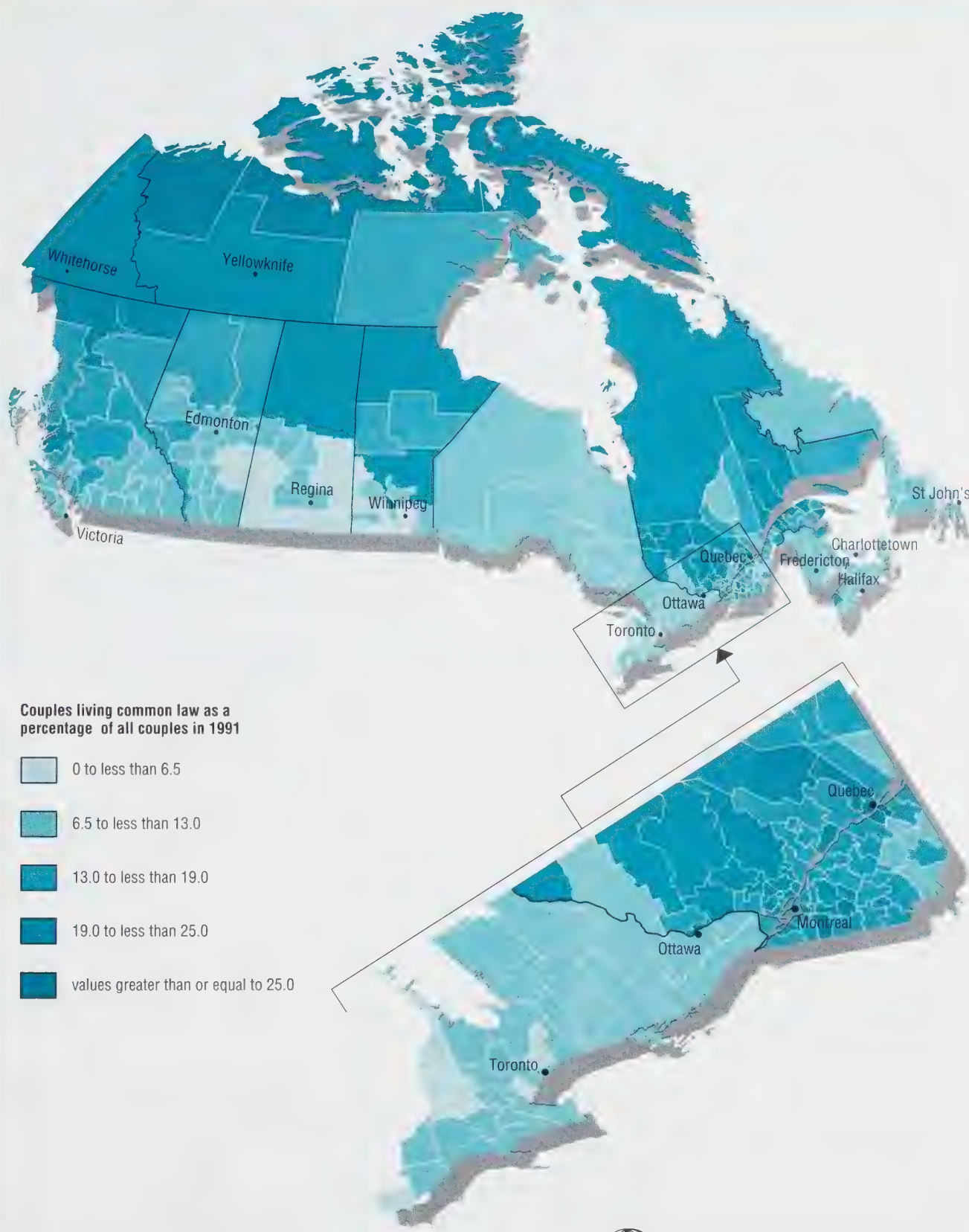
Among the provinces, common-law couples with children in Quebec and Saskatchewan were the most likely to have at least one child under age six (60% each). In contrast, those in Ontario (44%), Nova Scotia (48%) and British Columbia (49%) were the least likely to have children that young.

One-quarter of young Quebec couples with children living common law In Quebec, 25% of couples with children in which the wife was under age 35 were living common law in 1991. In contrast, just 10% of such couples outside of Quebec were living common law that year. Likewise, 11% of couples with children in which the wife was aged 35-44 were living common law in Quebec in 1991, more than double the percentage outside of Quebec (5%). Not surprisingly, the proportion living common law declined with age, but remained higher in Quebec than in the other provinces.

Empty nesters in Quebec more likely to live common law Couples with children no longer living at home were more likely to be living common law in Quebec (9%) than such couples in the other provinces (6%). Differences were particularly great among couples in which the wife was under age 55 and whose children had already left home.

Common-law unions most prevalent in Quebec and Northern Canada

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.
Census division data were derived using E-STAT 1993 edition.



Cartography by the National Atlas Information Service,
Canada Centre for Mapping, Natural Resources Canada.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Common-law unions most prevalent in the two territories

Within the relatively small populations of the two territories, the phenomenon of common-law unions has been growing at a rapid pace. By 1991, the proportion of all couples living common law was 27% in the Northwest Territories and 23% in the Yukon. Proportions were much lower in 1981 – 13% in the Northwest Territories and 17% in the Yukon. In both years, however, common-law unions were more prevalent in these areas than elsewhere in Canada. Higher proportions of couples living common law in the two territories result, at least in part, from the higher proportion of Aboriginal peoples – among whom unions outside the legal bonds of marriage have long been practised.¹

Common-law couples in the North are more likely to have children and to have larger families than those in most provinces. In 1991, 65% of common-law couples in the Northwest Territories and 48% of those in the Yukon had children living at home. The national average was 42%.

Of those with children at home, 34% of common-law couples in the Northwest Territories had two children and 26% had three or more. Similarly in the Yukon, 36% had two children and 14% had three or more. In contrast, national



averages for common-law couples were 33% with two children at home and 13% with three or more children at home. The proportion of common-law couples with children in the Northwest Territories who had at least one child under age 6 (71%) was much higher than the national average (54%). The proportion in the Yukon equalled the national average.

¹ Jean Dumas, **Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1992**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-209E.

Among these families, 23% were living common law in Quebec, compared with 14% in the other provinces. Among such families in which the wife was aged 55 and over, 4% were living common law in Quebec, double the proportion in the other provinces (2%).

English-speaking couples in Quebec less likely to live common law

Although there are many reasons people may have for living common law in Quebec, differences between the two major language groups indicate that the recent trend toward common-law living is concentrated among those who are French-speaking. This may be because values regarding marriage and family life are changing within the Francophone culture.

Quebec couples in which both partners reported French as both their mother tongue and home language were more than twice as likely to have been living common law (21%) as those in which both partners reported English (9%).

Interestingly, the proportion for English-speaking partners in Quebec was about the same as that among all couples in the other provinces (10%).

Common-law unions were also much more prevalent among non-immigrant than among immigrant couples with or without children. In 1991, 21% of Quebec couples in which the man was Canadian born were living common law, compared with only 7% of those in which the man had immigrated to Canada. In the other provinces, 10% of non-immigrant couples were living common law, compared with 4% of immigrant couples.

Although marriage is now less common, most people live in a couple relationship

Although marriage is not as common today as in the past, especially among young people, most Canadians are still choosing to live as couples. The proportion aged 15 and over living in a union, either by common law or legal marriage, was about 60% throughout the 1980s.

A relatively recent phenomenon, common-law living remains concentrated among young people who do not yet have children. In Quebec, however, more so than in other provinces, common-law unions are becoming increasingly prevalent among older couples and those having children. As a result, the characteristics of common-law families are beginning to resemble those of married-couple families. This suggests that common-law unions may be becoming more of an alternative than a prelude to marriage, at least among some couples in Quebec.

Jo-Anne Belliveau and **Jillian Oderkirk** are Editors, and **Cynthia Silver** is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.



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Births



Over the last thirty years, and particularly during the past decade, the proportion of births to unmarried mothers has increased dramatically. In addition, the circumstances surrounding these births has changed. Until recently, unmarried mothers tended to be young and unattached. Today, however, women having children outside of marriage are older and many are in common-law relationships.

outside marriage

A Growing Alternative

by Marilyn Belle and Kevin McQuillan

Growth in the proportion of births to unmarried women has varied across the country, resulting in large provincial differences. In Quebec, where the proportion of couples living common law is double that of other provinces, the proportion of births outside of marriage is the highest. On the other hand, in Ontario, where the proportion of common-law couples is relatively low, the proportion of births outside of marriage is the lowest. These large provincial variations result from emerging and long-standing

differences in beliefs regarding the role of legal marriage in family formation.

Proportion of non-marital births now 6 times higher than in 1961 The proportion of births to unmarried mothers has been increasing almost continuously since 1921, when only 2% of all Canadian births were outside of marriage.¹ The rate increased slowly in the decades that followed, reaching almost 5% by the end of World War II. This upward trend was briefly reversed during the 1950s' baby

boom when the percentage of non-marital births fell to 4% before returning to just under 5% in 1961.

Since 1961, however, there has been a much stronger upward trend in non-marital births. The proportion of births to unmarried women doubled between 1961 and 1971 to 9%, and then grew to 14% in 1981. Since then, rapid increases continued and by 1991, 27% of births occurred outside of marriage.

Such a large growth in the proportion of births to unmarried women during the

1980s is related to the emergence of common law as an alternative living arrangement for couples. According to the census, 11% of all Canadian couples were living common law in 1991, up from 6% in 1981. In addition, common-law couples account for an increasing proportion of all couples with children. By 1991, 8% of all couples with children were living common law, up from only 3% in 1981.

Non-marital fertility up since mid-1970s Although the proportion of births outside of marriage increased over the last three decades, factors influencing this trend changed. During the 1960s and early 1970s, decreases in the fertility rate of married women (births per 1,000 married women) and increases in the proportion of unmarried women of childbearing age were the major causes of this growth. It was not until the mid-1970s that a sharp rise in the fertility rate of unmarried women began to drive the increase in the proportion of births outside marriage. By 1991, the number of births for every 1,000 unmarried women had increased to 32 from 21 in 1981 and 18 in 1961.²

Age of unmarried mothers rising

Both the circumstances surrounding a birth and the consequences for a mother and child are quite different for a teenaged mother living at home than for a woman in her early thirties in a cohabiting relationship. Three decades ago, giving birth outside of marriage was very much a young woman's experience. In 1961, 72% of non-marital births occurred to women under age 25. Today, however, almost half of births outside of marriage occur to mothers aged 25 and over. This reflects, in part, the declining proportion of married women aged 25-34 and the increasing likelihood that unmarried women this age – many of whom are in common-law unions – will bear a child.

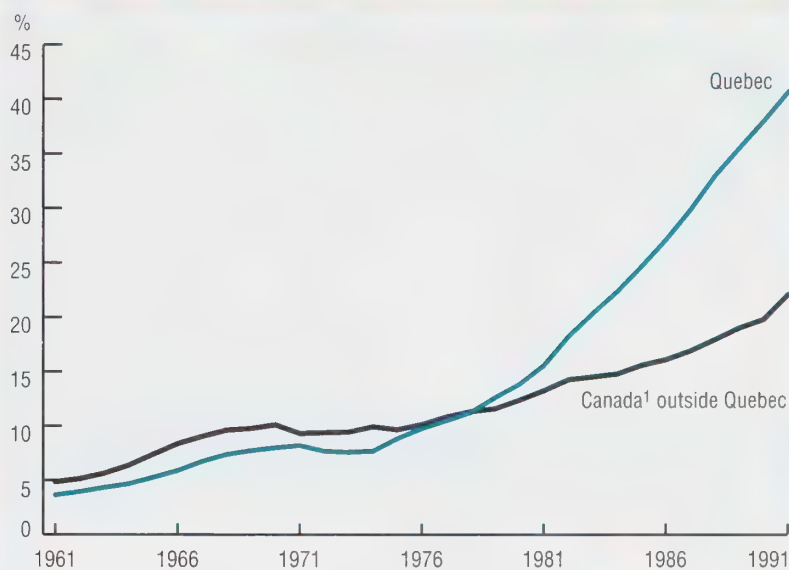
Non-marital fertility rates for women aged 25 and over increased sharply in the 1980s, after having declined during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Among

¹ National data exclude Newfoundland.

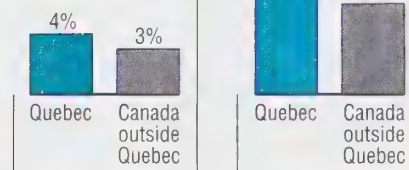
² Prior to 1981, women in common-law unions were considered married when fertility rates were calculated; since 1981, they have been considered unmarried. Because the proportion of women living common law was very small until the 1980s, this change did not affect the overall trend.

Proportion of births to unmarried women, 1961 to 1991

CST



Proportion of all couples with children living common law

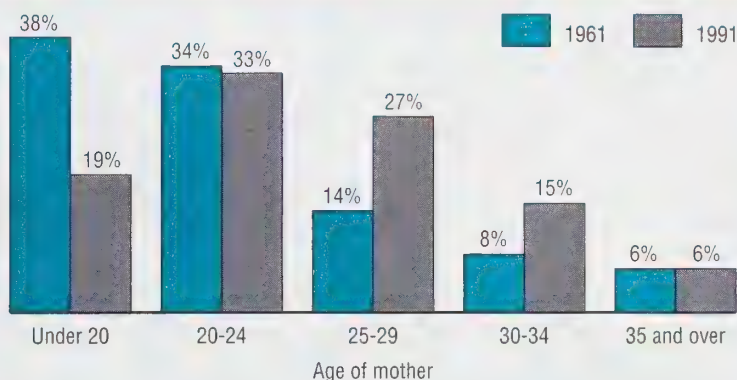


¹ Excludes Newfoundland.

Sources: Bureau de la Statistique du Québec, Statistics Canada unpublished vital statistics and 1991 Census of Canada.

Proportion of births to unmarried women, by age of mother, 1961 and 1991¹

CST



¹ Excludes Newfoundland.

Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished vital statistics.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

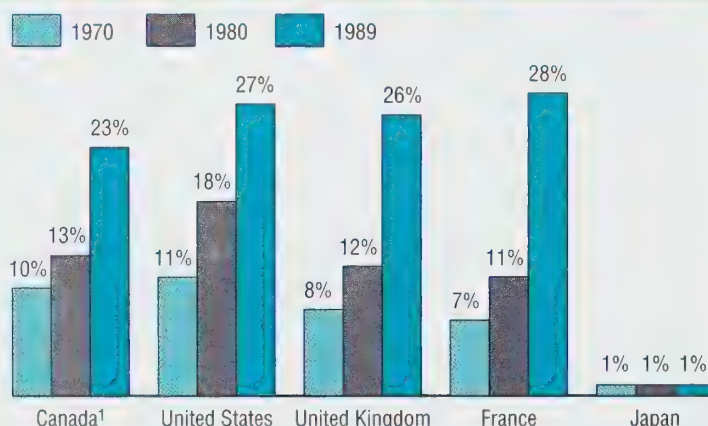


Trends similar in other industrialized nations Canada is not the only industrialized nation to experience a major increase in non-marital childbearing. Sharp increases also occurred in the United States, France and the United Kingdom. In these three countries, around 10% of births in 1970 were to unmarried women. Like Canada, proportions in these countries rose slowly through the 1970s and more sharply during the 1980s. By 1989, the proportion of non-marital births in each of these countries was over 25%.

However, this pattern is not found in all industrialized societies. In Japan, for example, the proportion of births outside marriage has remained very low. In 1989, only 1% of Japanese births occurred to unmarried women, a proportion unchanged since 1970.

Proportion of births to unmarried women, selected countries, 1970, 1980 and 1989

CST



¹ Excludes Newfoundland.

Source: Dennis A. Ahlburg and Carol J. DeVita, "New Realities of the American Family," *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 1992.

Proportion of births to unmarried women, by birth order, 1990¹

CST

	1st child	2nd child	3rd child	4th child
	%			
Prince Edward Island	32	15	6	7
Nova Scotia	35	18	14	15
New Brunswick	36	17	13	12
Quebec	47	29	20	15
Ontario	21	10	8	10
Manitoba	33	20	19	26
Saskatchewan	37	19	20	25
Alberta	29	14	13	17
British Columbia	28	17	15	17

¹ Comparable data for Newfoundland was unavailable.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-209E.

women aged 25-29, the non-marital fertility rate doubled to 50 per 1,000 in 1991 from 22 per 1,000 in 1976.

Similarly, among women aged 30-34, the non-marital fertility rate increased to 37 from 16 per 1,000. Among teens, on the other hand, non-marital fertility has been rising slowly but steadily since the early 1960s. In 1991, there were 24 births per 1,000 unmarried women aged 15-19, up from 17 per 1,000 in 1976.

Highest proportion of births outside marriage in Quebec

Among the provinces, Quebec had the highest proportion of births to unmarried women in 1991 – 41%. In contrast, Ontario had the lowest proportion, with only 17% of births in 1991 occurring to unmarried women. Proportions in the remaining provinces ranged from 31% in Saskatchewan and 30% in New Brunswick to 24% in both Alberta and Prince Edward Island.

Unmarried women in Quebec were also more likely than those in all other provinces, except Saskatchewan, to have had a child in 1991. That year, 42 of every 1,000 unmarried women in Quebec had given birth. In Saskatchewan (46 per 1,000) and Manitoba (40 per 1,000), non-marital fertility rates were also very high. Unmarried women in Ontario, on the other hand, were the least likely to have given birth (22 per 1,000 unmarried women). In the remaining provinces, rates ranged from 29 to 34 for every 1,000 unmarried women.

Third and fourth births outside marriage more common in Quebec, Saskatchewan and Manitoba

In 1990, 29% of women in Quebec having their second child were unmarried. In the other provinces, however, proportions were much lower, ranging from 20% in Manitoba to 10% in Ontario. Similarly, in 1990, 20% of Quebec women having their third child were unmarried. Again, proportions were much lower in the other provinces, with the exception of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Proportions of women having their third child outside of marriage ranged from 20% in Saskatchewan and 19% in Manitoba to 8% in Ontario and 6% in Prince Edward Island.

Of the few women who had a fourth child, the proportion who were unmarried in 1990 was higher in all four

Western provinces than in Quebec and the other provinces. Among the Western provinces, proportions ranged from 26% in Manitoba to 17% in Alberta. Proportions in the remaining provinces ranged from 15% in Quebec and Nova Scotia to 7% in Prince Edward Island.

Non-marital fertility related to emergence of common-law unions During the 1980s, when the proportion of births outside of marriage doubled, the proportion of couples living common law also

rose sharply. In addition, as with growth in the proportion of non-marital births, increases in the prevalence of common-law unions were more dramatic in Quebec than in the other provinces.

By 1991, Quebec couples with children under age 18 were more than twice as likely to be living common law (14%) as those in all other provinces combined (6%). Also that year, the proportion of births outside of marriage in Quebec (41%) was almost double that of provinces outside of Quebec (22%). Such

large differences are a recent phenomenon, however, having emerged only in the last decade. In 1981, the proportion of couples with children living common law in Quebec (4%) was about equal to that in the other provinces (3%). Similarly, there was little difference between the proportion of births outside of marriage in Quebec (16%) and in the other provinces (13%).

Although vital statistics records contain only information on the legal marital status of mothers, some evidence of the growing proportion of births to common-law couples in Quebec is recorded on birth certificates. According to the Bureau de la Statistique du Québec, between 1976 and 1991, around 5% of all births were to unmarried women who listed the father as unknown. Over the same period, the proportion of all births that were to unmarried women who listed the father as known increased to 37% from 5%.

The fact that relatively high proportions of women are having more than one child outside of marriage in Manitoba and Saskatchewan is also likely related to common-law unions. Within these provinces, there are large communities of Aboriginal peoples, among whom unions outside of legal marriage have always been common.³ However, the proportions of all couples living common law in Manitoba (9%) and Saskatchewan (8%) were less than the national proportion (11%) in 1991.

In Ontario, where the proportion of births to unmarried women is the lowest in the country, the proportion of couples living common law is also low. In 1991, 8% of couples in Ontario were living common law, up only slightly from 5% in 1981.

³Jean Dumas, **Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1992**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-209E.

Marilyn Belle is a Lecturer and **Kevin McQuillan** is an Associate Professor of Sociology, both with the University of Western Ontario.

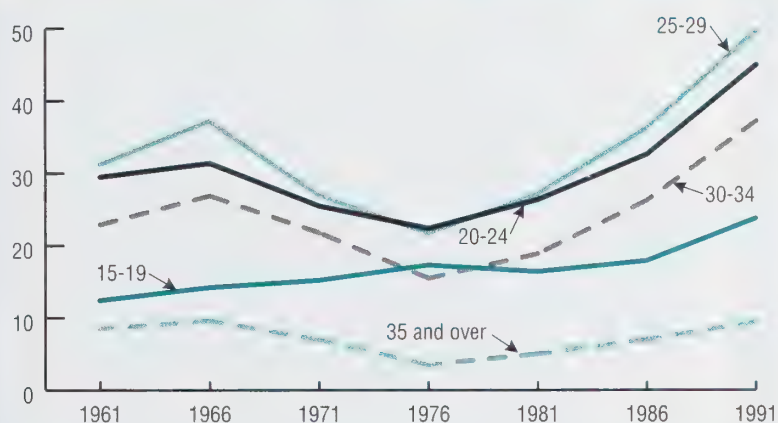


1994 International Year of the Family
Année internationale de la famille

Births to unmarried women, by age, 1961 to 1991¹

CST

Per 1,000 unmarried women²



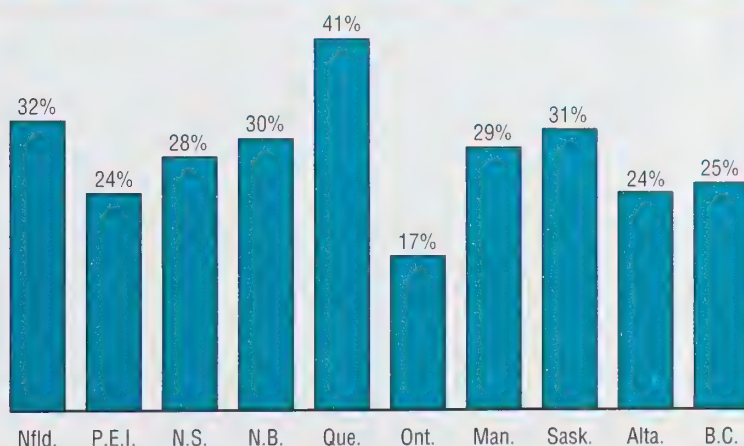
¹ Excludes Newfoundland.

² Since 1981, women in common-law unions have been considered unmarried.

Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished vital statistics.

Proportion of births to unmarried women, by province, 1991

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished vital statistics.

Street Prostitution

IN CANADA

by Lee Wolff and Dorota Geissel

Street prostitution has become a greater concern in most large Canadian cities since the early 1980s, when residents noticed a growth in the number of visible street prostitutes.¹ In 1985, changes to Canada's prostitution laws made it more difficult to communicate publicly for the purposes of prostitution. Since then, enforcement of the laws controlling the street trade has increased dramatically.

Legislative evaluations by the Department of Justice indicated, however, that in the three years following implementation, the 1985 legislation had not been successful in suppressing the street trade in most cities. Further, laws introduced in 1988 to protect youths from sexual exploitation were found to be





ineffective in bringing customers and pimps of youth prostitutes to justice.

While research is inconclusive, it does provide some insight into the conditions under which many enter the street trade. Some research suggests that most prostitutes enter the trade when they are very young. Factors identified as important influences on a young person's decision to prostitute include childhood sexual abuse, episodes of running away from home and the expectation of financial gain. Research findings also suggest that understanding the circumstances leading to entering prostitution may be important in developing strategies to curb the entry of youths into the street trade, and to limit the exploitive and often threatening situations many prostitutes face.

Canada's laws Prostitution among consenting adults has never been a crime in Canada, but has always been subject to very restrictive legal parameters. Throughout Canada's history, attempts to control prostitution through the Criminal Code reflect tensions between those who acknowledge the practical aspects of the trade and those who view the trade as immoral.²

Today, sections 210 to 213 of the Criminal Code prohibit those activities related to prostitution that are considered threatening to public order or offensive to public decency. Activities include being involved in a common bawdy house; procuring or soliciting a person to exchange sexual services for money; and communicating for the purposes of prostitution in a public place, regardless of how orderly that communication may be.

These laws, which prohibit many transactions necessarily associated with prostitution, make it very difficult to practice the trade without breaking the law. In the case of communicating, those convicted face a maximum penalty of six months in jail, a \$2,000 fine, or both.

Changes in law result in wide variation in enforcement practices The nature of Canada's prostitution laws has changed, particularly over the past two decades. Canada's first Criminal Code (1892) dealt with female prostitutes on the basis of status, such as the control of vagrancy, rather than any overt act. This law prevailed for 80 years, until, in 1972, a law was introduced to control the overt act of solicitation. Since then, laws concerning the street trade have undergone significant changes, resulting in varying police enforcement practices. Indeed, over the past two decades, the annual number of prostitution offences reported by the police in Canada has ranged from under 1,000 to over 10,000.

Much of the variation in practices resulted from the unclear meaning of the 1972 soliciting law. In 1978, the Supreme Court of Canada held that for the activities of a prostitute to be criminal, the conduct had to be "pressing or persistent." Since the mere indication that sex was for sale was not illegal, the Criminal Code was rendered ineffective in reducing problems associated with the street trade. As a result, following the 1978 ruling, police enforcement of the soliciting law became minimal. The

¹ Department of Justice Canada, **Street Prostitution, Assessing the Impact of the Law: Synthesis Report**, Ottawa, 1989.

² C. Bagley, B. Burrows and C. Yaworski, "Street Kids and Adolescent Prostitution: A Challenge for Legal and Social Services," **Canadian Child Welfare Law: Children, Families and the State**, 1991.

Sentencing patterns in Ontario and Alberta

Although prostitutes and customers in Ontario and Alberta were convicted of communicating in close to equal numbers during the early 1990s, there were differences in sentencing patterns between the two provinces.¹ Sentencing data, however, are limited because prior criminal history is not accounted for – a factor which is always considered at time of sentencing and is known to have an impact on sentence severity. Studies conducted by the Department of Justice found that, while prostitutes were sentenced more severely than customers, this was, at least in part, due to their more extensive criminal records. Another factor unaccounted for in the data is the presence of additional charges that may be associated with the communicating incident (e.g., breach of probation), and hence considered at time of sentencing.

In Ontario, communicating convictions among women often result in prison terms During the period under study, 44% of charges against women (mainly prostitutes) resulted in prison terms, followed by probation (26%), fines (22%) and absolute discharges (8%).² Median prison terms were 10 days and median fine amounts were \$150.

Men (mainly customers) convicted of communicating in Ontario were most frequently fined (42%) or given an absolute discharge (35%). Probation (17%) and prison sentences (6%) accounted for

a much smaller proportion of charges among men. Median prison terms were 10 days and median fine amounts were \$100.

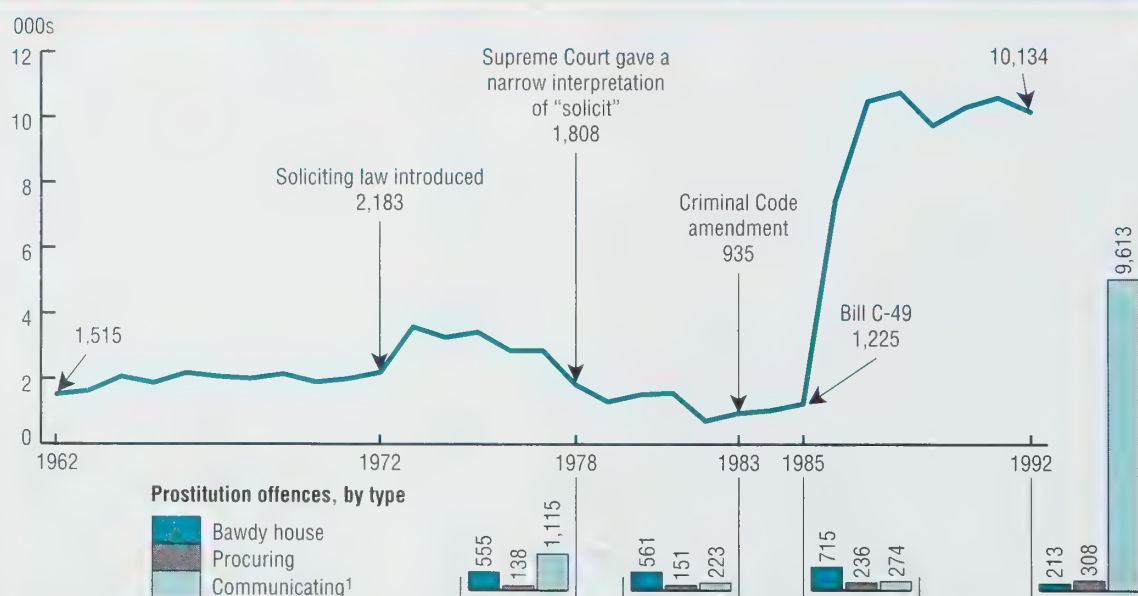
In Alberta, communicating convictions among women often result in fines In Alberta, fines were the most frequent dispositions for communicating convictions among women (mainly prostitutes). During the period under study, 66% of charges against women resulted in fines, followed by prison (19%), probation (13%) and absolute discharges (2%). Median prison terms were 30 days and median fine amounts were \$200.

Most convictions among men (mainly customers) in Alberta resulted in fines (89%). Probation (6%), absolute discharge (3%) and prison sentences (2%) accounted for only a small percentage of convictions against men. Median prison terms were 30 days and median fine amounts were \$200.

¹ This information was obtained from the Sentencing Database Project maintained by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Data for Ontario refer to the 15-month period from June 1991 to August 1992, when 3,595 charges resulted in conviction. Alberta statistics are based on the 22-month period between January 1991 and October 1992, when 2,228 charges resulted in conviction. Court statistics were not available for other provinces where communicating offences are frequently reported.

² When more than one disposition is ordered on a charge, the charge is characterized by the most serious disposition. Prison sentences are the most serious of all sentences, followed by probation orders, fines and absolute discharges.

Prostitution offences, 1962 to 1992



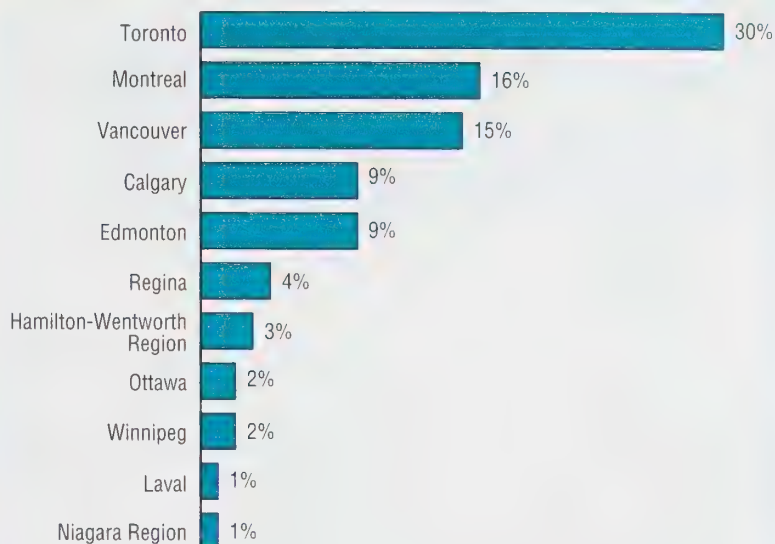
¹ The communicating law replaced the soliciting law in December 1985.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Aggregate Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Location¹ of communicating offences, 1992

CST

% of offences occurring in:



¹ Police jurisdictions.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Aggregate Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

soliciting section of the Code was also problematic because it did not define "public place," and it was not clear if it applied equally to female prostitutes, male prostitutes and customers.

In 1983, a Criminal Code amendment was introduced, specifying that the soliciting law applied to both female and male prostitutes. Later, in December 1985, the soliciting law was replaced with the communicating law (Bill C-49) which stands today. This law, applicable to both prostitutes (female and male) and customers, prohibits solicitation that impedes or otherwise interferes with the use of streets and public places.

Following the implementation of Bill C-49, those involved in the street trade became easy targets for police intervention, as is evidenced by the dramatic increase in the number of prostitution offences reported (7,426 in 1986, compared with 1,225 in 1985). However, since that time, the constitutionality of the communicating law has been challenged in many courts, resulting in variable enforcement practices across the country. It was not until May 1990 that the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favour of the law's validity.

Most reported prostitution offences are for communicating

Since many activities necessarily associated with prostitution are illegal, those involved are at constant risk of criminal prosecution. This is particularly true for those involved in the most visible aspect of the trade – street prostitution. Since 1986, when it became illegal to communicate publicly for the purposes of prostitution, most prostitution charges have been for communicating. In 1992, 10,134 prostitution incidents were reported by the police, 95% of which involved communicating offences. Bawdy house and procuring offences (recruiting a person to engage in prostitution) accounted for the remaining 5%.

The number of reported procuring offences is relatively small, at least in part, because traditional police methods are not always appropriate for enforcing sections of the Criminal Code involving procurement. Extensive police investigations are often required. In addition, offenders may be charged with related offences such as abduction, forcible confinement, weapons offences and sexual assault, which are not included in prostitution statistics.

Both prostitutes and customers can be charged under Canada's communicating

law. Prostitutes, however, may be at greater risk of being charged given their higher visibility. Although police and court information systems do not distinguish between customers and prostitutes, it is generally acknowledged that most prostitutes charged are female and most customers charged are male. Since 1986, the number of males charged has been relatively close to the number of females charged. In 1992, for example, 5,262 females and 4,695 males were charged with communicating for the purposes of prostitution. This suggests that the police are charging prostitutes and customers in close to equal numbers.

Highest proportions reported in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver

Since 1990, the police have reported about 10,000 communicating offences annually. Among the 11 police jurisdictions where most of these offences are reported, the Toronto police report the largest proportion (30% in 1992), followed by the police in Montreal (16%) and Vancouver (15%). Together, 11 police jurisdictions reported 93% of all communicating offences in 1992. These same police jurisdictions reported 35% of all Criminal Code offences that year.

The number of offences reported among police agencies, however, is not necessarily indicative of the prevalence of street prostitutes and customers. Differences in police practices and resources have an impact on the volume of communicating offences reported among police agencies.

Who is entering the street trade?

While young women aged 12-17 comprise a very small proportion of women charged in communicating incidents (6% in 1992), research suggests that, for many prostitutes, the decision to enter the trade is made in youth. The Badgley Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth³ found that one-half of prostitutes interviewed in 1984 entered the trade when they were under age 16, and almost all (96%) had become prostitutes before the age of 18. Prostitutes were, on average, aged 18 at the time of the Committee's interviews.

Considerable research has focused on those factors which may be important in guiding a young person's decision to

prostitute. While findings are not conclusive, some researchers believe that this choice is often made within the context of abusive childhood experiences.^{2,4} Others, however, argue that the decision to prostitute may be largely motivated by a rational expectation of financial gain.⁵

Research suggests many are run-aways An overwhelming majority of prostitutes interviewed by the Badgley Committee had run away from home at least once – 93% of females and 97% of males. Further, 67% of females and 46% of males had run away several times.⁴ Research also indicates that street prostitutes leave home at an earlier age than do other Canadians. Earls and David found that female prostitutes left home at an average age of 13.7 years, 3.6 years earlier than their counterparts who were not prostitutes.⁶ Similar findings were reported for males.

The underlying problems associated with running away from home are often inter-related and highly complex. Fisher found that among young people who ran away more than once, family problems, such as parental drinking, parental conflict, family/child interaction problems, mental illness, spousal abuse and child physical or sexual abuse, were invariably present.⁷ Also, a large proportion of those who ran away more than once (80%) were found to have been involved in delinquent activities, primarily as a means of support, and about one-fifth of these children reported having turned to prostitution.

Childhood sexual abuse may also be a factor Some studies indicate that childhood sexual abuse may be an important influence on young people's decisions to enter the street trade.^{3,4,6,8,9} Although tentative, findings suggest that sizeable numbers of street prostitutes were sexually abused in childhood.

A comparison of data from two surveys commissioned for the Badgley Report indicates that prostitutes were at least twice as likely as other members of the population to have experienced a first unwanted sexual act involving force or threats of force.⁴ More recently, Earls and David found that female and male prostitutes were more likely than non-prostitutes to have had some sort of sexual interaction with a family member.⁶ Also, of young

people who had had a sexual encounter with a family member, this study found that among prostitutes it was more likely to have been a father or uncle, while among non-prostitutes it was more likely to have been a cousin of the same age.

While these findings support the view that prostitutes are more likely than non-prostitutes to have been sexually abused in childhood, other research suggests that the link to prostitution is not direct, but involves runaway behaviour as an intervening variable.¹⁰ That is, adolescent prostitution can be viewed as a survival behaviour, suggesting that runaway prevention strategies aimed at providing supportive environments are needed, as are strategies to meet the everyday needs of runaway children.

A dangerous trade Street prostitutes face several health and safety risks. The 1984 Badgley Committee reported that about one-third of those interviewed were frequent or heavy users of alcohol or drugs and over one-half had contracted a sexually transmitted disease. About two-thirds had been physically assaulted while working as prostitutes, 44% of whom required medical attention. In addition, for many, prostitution led to broader ranges of deviance, including theft, assault and drug dealing.³

Homicide statistics highlight the dangers associated with the prostitution trade. During 1991 and 1992, 22 known prostitutes (all females) were murdered, representing 5% of female murder victims aged 16 and over. In 1991, 4 of the 14 prostitutes murdered were aged 16-17. In 1992, all prostitute victims were over age 17.

Murder cases involving prostitutes were less likely to be solved than those involving victims who were not prostitutes. For prostitute victims, an accused was identified in one-half of all cases (11 of the 22 cases) reported during 1991 and 1992. The comparable rate for all murders was 78%.

Customers were accused in 8 of the 11 cases of murdered prostitutes solved by the police in 1991 and 1992. Customers, however, were also victimized. During 1991 and 1992, 10 prostitutes were implicated in the murder of 8 victims, 4 of whom were believed to be customers.

Much remains unknown about street prostitution What is known about

prostitution pales in comparison to what is not known. Justice statistics tell us about those who come into conflict with the law, but we do not know how representative this group is of all prostitutes and customers. Research studies tell us about the experiences of prostitutes, but, while informative, findings are typically limited to small and often selective samples. What we do know is that, despite the introduction of a restrictive communicating law in 1985, the world's "oldest profession" persists in Canada. We also know that, sometimes, it persists at the expense of human life.

³ Badgley Committee, **Sexual Offences Against Children**, Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984.

⁴ J. Lowman, "Street Prostitutes in Canada: An Evaluation of the Brannigan-Fleishman Opportunity Model," **Canadian Journal of Law and Society**, 1991.

⁵ A. Brannigan and J. Fleischman, "Juvenile Prostitution and Mental Health: Policing Delinquency or Treating Pathology," **Canadian Journal of Law and Society**, 1989.

⁶ C.P. Earls and H. David, "Early Family Sexual Experiences of Male and Female Prostitutes," **Canada's Mental Health**, 1990.

⁷ J. Fisher, **Missing Children Research Project: Volume 1, Findings of the Study**, Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada, 1989.

⁸ M. Silbert and A. Pines, "Sexual Child Abuse as an Antecedent to Prostitution," **Journal of Abuse and Neglect**, 1981.

⁹ C. Bagley and L. Young, "Juvenile Prostitution and Childhood Sexual Abuse: A Controlled Study," **Canadian Journal of Community and Mental Health**, 1987.

¹⁰ M. Seng, "Child Sexual Abuse and Adolescent Prostitution: A Comparative Analysis," **Adolescence**, 1989.

Lee Wolff and Dorota Geissel are senior analysts with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

- For additional information, see **Juristat**, Vol. 13, No. 4, Statistics Canada Catalogue 85-002 or contact Information and Client Services at (613)951-9023 or toll-free 1-800-387-2231, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 19th Floor, R.H. Coats Building, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0T6.



ALBERTANS' OPINIONS ON

Street Prostitution

by Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot

Gallup surveyed Canadians in 1984, 1988 and 1992 on whether they felt that prostitution was a serious problem. Public opinion changed little over these eight years, with just over one-quarter of all Canadians agreeing that prostitution was a serious problem. Contrary to this national trend, however, the proportion of people in the Prairies who agreed that prostitution was a serious problem increased to 42% in 1992 from 26% in 1988.

Prostitution as a serious problem

According to the 1993 Population Research Laboratory Annual Alberta Survey, 37% of Alberta residents strongly agreed that prostitution is a serious problem in our society, and a total of 69% were in agreement (to some extent) with the statement.

In Alberta, more women (79%) than men (59%) agreed that prostitution is a serious problem. Among women and men who strongly agreed that prostitution is a serious problem, gender differences were even more pronounced. In 1993, 47% of women strongly agreed with the statement, compared with 27% of men.

Most urban residents of Alberta (excluding Calgary), as well as those in rural areas, agreed that prostitution is a serious problem (just over 71%). Calgary residents (63%) and those in villages (61%) were less likely to agree with the statement. This pattern differs from 1992 Gallup results, however, which indicated that the larger the community size, the more likely



people were to agree that prostitution was a serious problem.

Albertans with relatively fewer years of formal education were more likely than others to agree that prostitution is a serious problem. In 1993, 77% of those with less than 12 years of education agreed (to some extent) that prostitution is a problem, as opposed to 62% of those with 16 or more years of schooling.

Opinions also varied by strength of religious beliefs. In Alberta, nearly 79% who reported strong religious beliefs agreed (to some extent) that prostitution is a serious problem. The proportion dropped to 69% of those with somewhat strong beliefs and 66% of those with not very strong religious beliefs.

Juvenile prostitution viewed

as more serious than adult prostitution The age of a prostitute brings with it issues such as innocence, maturity, responsibility and coercion. Almost all Alberta residents (92%) agreed that juvenile prostitution is a greater cause for concern than adult prostitution, with more than two-thirds (69%) strongly agreeing with the statement. There was very little variation in Albertans' perceptions of juvenile prostitution, regardless of where they lived, or even whether they were responsible for or lived with young people under age 18.

Prostitution the result of demand Most people in Alberta (83%) agreed that prostitution exists because of customer

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

1993 Alberta Survey Population Research Laboratory

The Alberta Survey has been conducted annually since 1987 by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta. The 1993 survey involved a random selection of just under 1,300 respondents aged 18 and over, who were interviewed by telephone about a variety of issues and events.

demands, with 44% strongly agreeing with the statement. This would suggest a great deal of support for campaigns that focus on the customer in the prostitution transaction. Public opinion was less clearcut, however, on prostitutes' involvement in the sex trade. Slightly under 60% of Albertans agreed that most prostitutes just got off to a bad start in life. At the same time, 23% disagreed with this statement.

These perceptions were not based, for the most part, on knowing a prostitute or customer. In 1993, 20% of both men and women in Alberta reported ever having known a prostitute. On the other hand, while still a minority, the proportion of men who had known or knew someone who had paid for the services of a prostitute (36%) was considerably higher than the proportion of women who had known customers (16%). Women's lesser familiarity with customers may reflect the relative non-existence of female customers in the prostitution transaction.

World's oldest trade? Given the cliché that prostitution is the world's oldest trade, it is not surprising that almost 90% of Albertans agreed that no matter what society tries to do, prostitution will always exist. Almost 60% strongly agreed with this statement. Despite this, most Albertans (68% of women and 56% of men) disagreed that prostitution is the business of the prostitute and the customer, and that society should not get involved.

Tougher laws While most Albertans (61%) agreed that tougher laws are needed to deal with prostitution, proportions differed by gender, education and religious beliefs. In 1993, 70% of women agreed with the statement, compared with only 50% of men. At the same time,

72% of people with less than 12 years of schooling agreed that tougher laws are needed to deal with prostitution, compared with 54% of those with 16 or more years of schooling. Similarly, the proportion of people agreeing with the statement ranged from 70% of those with strong religious beliefs to 58% of those with not very strong beliefs.

Albertans' opinions were less definitive regarding how the police should respond to prostitution. While just over half of respondents agreed that the police should put more effort into cracking down on prostitution, 21% neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement, the largest proportion of neutral responses that any question produced. Nonetheless, similar patterns prevailed by gender, educational attainment and strength of religious convictions. Women (57%) felt more strongly than men (45%) that the police should be cracking down on prostitution. Area and size of residence did not appear to be related to people's opinions on this matter. However, residents of Calgary were least likely to agree with the statement (46%), whereas opinion in Edmonton conformed to the provincial average. Albertans with less than 12 years of schooling were most likely to agree that the police should put more effort into cracking down on prostitution (66%), while those with 16 or more years of schooling were least likely (41%). At the same time, more people with strong religious beliefs agreed with the statement (59%) than did those with not very strong beliefs (47%).

Don't want to see prostitutes on the street... In 1993, 48% of Albertans agreed that they are personally offended when they see prostitutes working on the street, with women (55%) more likely than men

(41%) to be offended. As proximity to street prostitution areas (strolls) increased, people appeared to be less offended by the sight of a prostitute. About 56% of people in rural areas and villages agreed that seeing prostitutes on the street is offensive. The proportion dropped to about 50% of Albertans in towns and cities, excluding Calgary. Calgary residents appear to have more liberal views, with only 41% agreeing with the statement. People with strong religious beliefs are also more likely than those with not very strong beliefs to be offended by the sight of street prostitutes plying their trade (57%, compared with 46%).

...but don't agree with red-light districts Red-light districts would confine prostitutes to a specific vicinity, thereby limiting the problem of prostitutes working the streets in full public view. This solution was viewed favourably by only 42% of Albertans, with 41% disagreeing that prostitutes should be moved to a red-light district where they would not be bothered by police. Men (46%) were much more likely than women (38%) to agree that prostitutes should be moved to a red-light district. Albertans who said that they were personally offended seeing a prostitute working on the street were much less likely to have agreed with the idea of moving prostitutes to a red-light district (34%). In contrast, those who were not offended at the sight of a street prostitute were more likely to have agreed that prostitutes should be moved to a red-light district (54%). Residents of Edmonton and Calgary again differed considerably in their views of red-light districts: 43% of those in Edmonton agreed that prostitutes should be confined to these areas, compared with 51% of those in Calgary.

Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot is a doctoral candidate in sociology at the University of Alberta.

- For further information on this topic, see "Survey Highlights #15: Public Opinion Toward Street Prostitution," Population Research Laboratory (PRL), Department of Sociology, University of Alberta or contact the PRL at (403)492-4659.



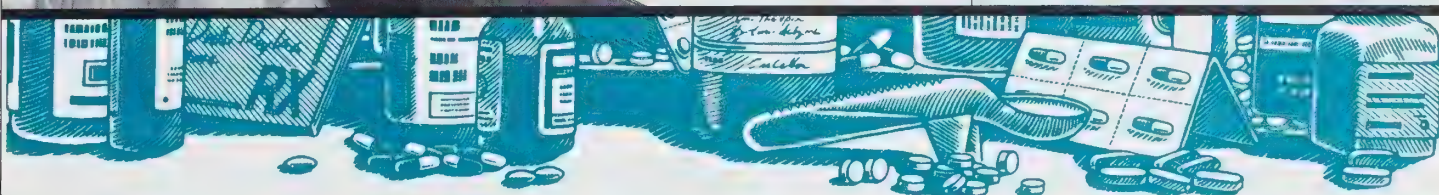
Drug Use Among Senior Canadians

by Michael Bergob



Among Canadians aged 65 and over, as well as among younger people, responsible use of prescription and over-the-counter drugs can maintain or improve well-being, while the misuse or abuse of drugs, often unintentional, can intensify existing health problems or create new ones. Although most drug use among seniors is in response to a medical need, illnesses associated with adverse drug reactions account for a significant number of hospital admissions of seniors each year.¹

Heavy drug consumption, however, is concentrated among a minority of seniors. According to Health Canada's 1989 National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey (NADS), just over one-quarter of senior women and about one-fifth of senior men reported using three or more drugs in the month prior to the survey. Seniors who were multiple-drug users were more likely than other seniors to



feel that their health was failing, that their lives were stressful and that they could not turn to family or friends when they had a problem.

Seniors more likely than younger people to be multiple-drug users In 1989, 27% of senior women and 19% of senior men used three or more drugs in the month prior to the NADS. In contrast, only 15% of women and 13% of men aged 15-34 and

18% of women and 14% of men aged 35-64 reported this level of drug use.

Multiple-drug use increases with advancing age among senior women, but declines among senior men. About one-quarter (24%) of women aged 65-69 used three or more drugs in the month before the survey, compared with 29% of women aged 70-74 and 28% of women aged 75 and over. Among senior men, 22% of those aged 65-69 were multiple-

drug users, compared with 18% of those aged 70-74 and 16% of those aged 75 and over.

Drug use among seniors is mainly by prescription Prescription-drug use is much more common among seniors than among younger people. While seniors represent about 12% of the Canadian population, they consume 20% to 30% of all prescribed drugs.² Higher prescription-drug consumption among seniors occurs not only because of medical problems associated with advancing age, but also because all Canadian provincial and territorial governments have some type of prescription drug cost reimbursement program for residents aged 65 and over.³

Overall, 18% of senior women and 14% of senior men used three or more prescription drugs in the month before the survey.⁴ In contrast, only 8% of women and 6% of men aged 35-64 and 5% of women and 2% of men aged 15-34 were multiple-drug users.

Among senior women, prescription-drug use tends to be associated with advancing age. About 15% of women aged 65-69 used three or more prescription drugs, compared with 19% of those aged 70-74 and 20% of those aged 75 and over. On the other hand, prescription-drug use among senior men dropped from 15% of both those aged 65-69 and those aged 70-74 to 12% of those aged 75 and over.

Virtually no seniors took three or more non-prescription drugs in the month

¹ S. Asthana and V.P. Sood, "Prescribing for the elderly: One hospital's experience," *Geriatric Medicine (Canada)*, 1987, Volume 3:113-117.

J. Inciardi, "Acute drug reactions among the aged: A research note," *Addictive Diseases*, 1978, Volume 3:383-388.

J. Inciardi, "Over-the-counter drugs: Epidemiology, adverse reactions, overdose deaths, and mass media promotion," *Addictive Diseases*, 1977, Volume 2:253-272.

B.T. Wigdor, "Editorial: Some critical issues related to mental health and medication use in the elderly," *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 1991, Volume 10:296-299.

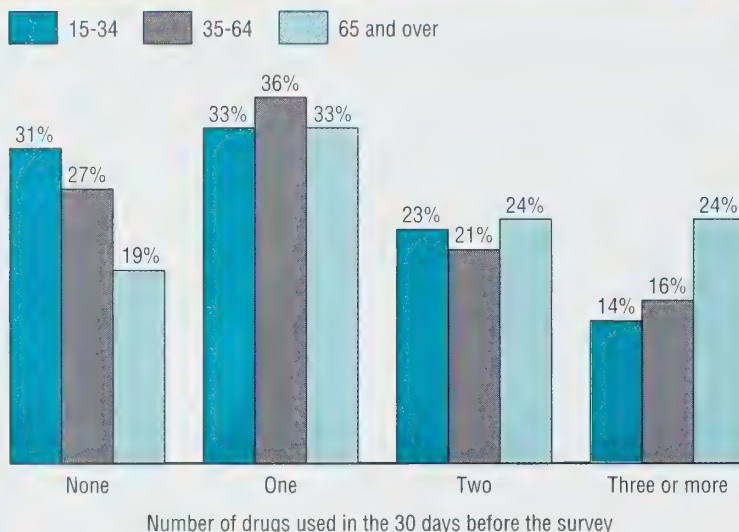
² J.D. Tuominen, "Prescription drugs and the elderly in B.C.," *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 1988, Volume 7:174-182.

³ Jeremiah Hurley and Nancy Arbuthnot Johnson, "The Effects of Co-Payments within Drug Reimbursement Programs," *Canadian Public Policy*, 1991, Volume XVII:473-489.

⁴ Other senior multiple-drug users used a combination of prescription and non-prescription drugs.

Drug use among Canadians, 1989

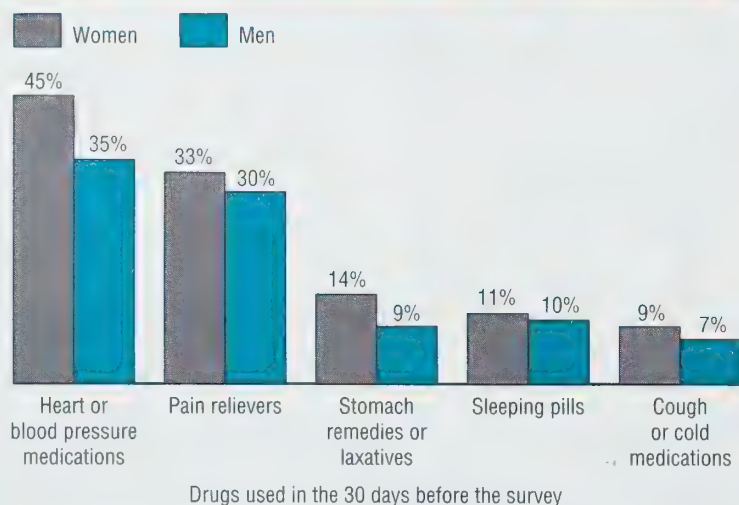
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Source: National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey, unpublished data.

Top 5 prescription drugs used by seniors, 1989

CST



Source: National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey, unpublished data.

before the NADS. In contrast, 4% of women and 5% of men aged 15-34 and 3% of women and men aged 35-64 took three or more non-prescription drugs during that time. The proportion of seniors who took even two non-prescription drugs that month was also very small (less than 5%). Relatively few senior women

and men, regardless of their age, used more than one non-prescription drug.

Most common prescription medicines are for the heart and blood pressure

The drugs commonly taken by seniors provide an indication of some of the more typical health problems they experience.

By far, the most common prescription medicines used by seniors are for the heart or blood pressure. In the 30 days before the 1989 survey, 45% of senior women and 35% of senior men took these types of prescription drugs, followed by prescription pain relievers (such as aspirin), used by about one-third of senior women and

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey

The National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey (NADS) was conducted by Statistics Canada on behalf of Health Canada (formerly Health and Welfare Canada) in March 1989. Data were collected through telephone interviews from a sample of close to 12,000 Canadians aged 15 and over in the 10 provinces, excluding residents of institutions such as nursing homes, hospitals and prisons. Seniors living in institutions, who may be more likely than those in private households to have medical problems and thus to have higher levels of drug consumption, were not included in the NADS. Thus, the incidence of drug use among all seniors may be higher than the NADS estimates.

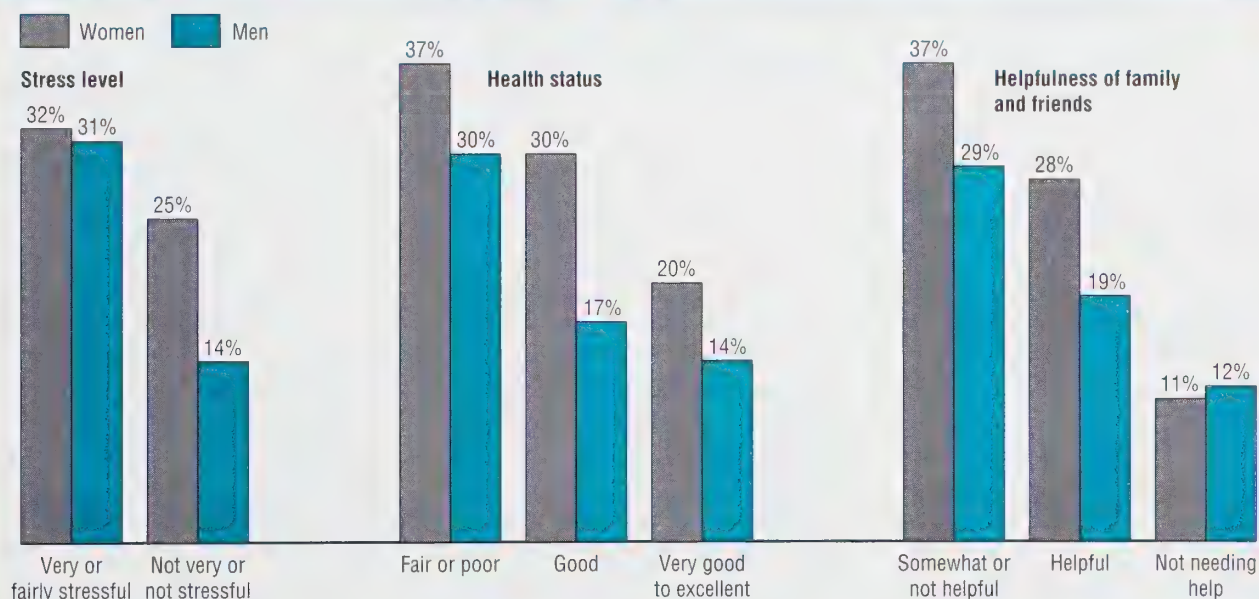
Drugs included on the NADS Respondents to the NADS were asked if they used the following drugs in the 30 days

before the survey and whether or not this use was with a doctor's order or prescription:

- ☐ pain relievers, such as aspirin;
- ☐ tranquilizers, such as valium;
- ☐ diet pills or stimulants;
- ☐ anti-depressants;
- ☐ pain killers, such as codeine, demerol or morphine;
- ☐ allergy medicines, such as sinutab;
- ☐ cough or cold remedies;
- ☐ penicillin or similar antibiotics;
- ☐ medicines for the heart or blood pressure;
- ☐ insulin or similar diabetic medicines;
- ☐ sleeping pills; or
- ☐ stomach remedies or laxatives.

Proportion of seniors reporting multiple-drug use,¹ 1989

CST



¹Use of three or more drugs in the 30 days before the survey.
Source: National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey, unpublished data.



men. Stomach remedies or laxatives were the next most common prescription drugs, used by 14% of women and 9% of men. Ironically, the need for stomach remedies may be related to the prevalence of the two leading medications: pain relievers and anti-hypertensives.⁵

Some seniors (20% of women and 19% of men) also took non-prescription pain relievers. When prescription and non-prescription pain-reliever use was combined, this group of drugs ranked first among seniors, with 53% of women and 49% of men having used at least one drug of this type in the 30 days prior to the survey. As well, 6% of senior women and 4% of senior men reported taking non-prescription stomach remedies or laxatives.

A minority of seniors reported using prescription and over-the-counter painkillers (such as codeine, demerol or morphine),

sleeping pills or tranquilizers in the 30 days before the survey. In 1989, 11% of senior women and 10% of senior men reported taking sleeping pills, and 4% of senior women and 3% of senior men reported using painkillers. The use of tranquilizers was higher among senior women (7%) than among senior men (4%).

Multiple-drug use more common among seniors reporting fair or poor health

Declining health is often considered a normal part of the aging process. However, according to the 1989 NADS, three out of four seniors reported having good to excellent health when asked to compare their health with others their age. Not surprisingly, seniors who perceived their health as very good or excellent were much less likely than those who perceived their health as fair

or poor to have taken any drugs or to have been a multiple-drug user in the month before the survey.

In 1989, 21% of senior women and 29% of senior men who reported having very good or excellent health stated that they had not used any drugs in the 30 days before the survey. In contrast, only 11% of women and 13% of men who perceived their health as fair or poor reported that they had not used any drugs that month.

Only 20% of senior women who reported very good or excellent health used three or more drugs in the month before the 1989 survey, compared with 37% of senior women who reported their health as fair or poor. Similarly, 14% of senior men who reported very good or excellent health used three or more drugs, compared with 30% of those who reported fair or poor health.

Seniors reporting stress more likely to report poor health and multiple-drug use

Retirement is often idealized as a time of leisure, and, in general, seniors report having less stress in their lives than do younger people. According to the 1989 NADS, 34% of seniors reported that their lives were fairly or very stressful, compared with about 60% of both those aged 15-34 and those aged 35-64. Senior women (36%) were slightly more likely than senior men (31%) to report having stress in their lives. The NADS did not ask respondents to report on sources of stress and it is not known whether feelings of stress contribute to senior's health problems, or whether health problems produce feelings of stress.

Seniors who felt that their lives were stressful were twice as likely to report fair or poor health as those who felt little or no stress in their lives. In 1989, 37% of senior women who felt their lives were fairly or very stressful reported fair or poor health, compared with 19% who felt little or no stress. Similarly, 39% of senior men who felt stress in their lives reported their health as fair or poor, compared with 18% who felt little or no stress.

A higher proportion of women aged 65-69 reported feeling stress (39%) than did those aged 70-74 (31%) and those aged 75 and over (36%). In contrast, the proportion of senior men reporting stress increased slightly with age from 30% of those aged 65-69 to 33% of those aged 75 and over.

In 1989, 32% of senior women who felt that their lives were fairly or very stressful reported using three or more drugs in the month before the survey, while 25% of women who reported little or no stress used three or more drugs. Differences were more striking among senior men: those who felt that their lives were stressful were more than twice as likely (31%) to report using three or more drugs as those who felt little or no stress in their lives (14%).

Seniors without helpful family and friends more likely to have stressful lives and to be multiple-drug users

Most senior women (65%) and men (69%) who felt that they had family and friends they could turn to for help when they had a problem reported feeling little or no stress in their lives. In contrast, less than half of senior women (37%) and men (48%) who felt their family or friends were not helpful reported feeling

little or no stress. A very high proportion of senior women (93%) and men (83%) who felt that they did not need help from their family and friends, however, reported little or no stress in their lives.

Seniors who reported having helpful family or friends were more likely than others to perceive their health as very good or excellent. Among seniors whose family and friends were helpful, 49% of women and 44% of men reported very good or excellent health, and only 24% of women and 25% of men reported fair or poor health. In contrast, among those seniors whose family and friends were not helpful, only 27% of women and 21% of men reported good or excellent health. Seniors who felt they did not need help from family or friends, however, were the most likely to report having very good or excellent health. Among these seniors, 60% of women and 50% of men reported very good or excellent health, while only 17% of women and 10% of men reported fair or poor health.

Multiple-drug use is much higher among seniors without helpful family and friends. When help with a problem was available from family and friends, 28% of senior women and 19% of senior men reported using three or more drugs in the month before the survey. In contrast, when no help was available, 37% of senior women and 29% of senior men reported using three or more drugs. Multiple-drug use was uncommon among seniors who felt that they did not need the help of family or friends.

Some seniors experiencing stress and other problems, who are without sources of support, may seek help from professions that prescribe medical interventions. In some cases, seniors may present physical health problems to physicians instead of expressing a need for some other form of help. As a result, greater access to and awareness of counselling and other support services for seniors may reduce demand for medical care and medical interventions.⁵

Conclusion Most seniors report good to excellent health and relatively few are multiple-drug users. In addition, most drugs consumed by seniors are by prescription. Although prescription drugs are administered by health professionals, such drugs may negatively affect seniors' health if they are misused or inappropriately combined with other medications.

This can occur, for example, when seniors or their care-givers do not follow directions for a medication's use. Health professionals also have a responsibility to ensure that seniors use prescription drugs appropriately and that the drugs prescribed to seniors do not conflict with other medications they may be taking. Improved methods of monitoring prescription drugs used by seniors may help reduce the risk of misuse of medications, particularly among seniors who are multiple-drug users or who have several physicians or pharmacists.

Expenditures on prescription-drug coverage for seniors is one of the fastest rising components of provincial health care spending.³ As a result, concerns have been raised about the future cost of drugs for seniors in a rapidly aging population.

The drugs consumed by today's seniors, however, may be in response to health problems resulting from life experiences which differ considerably from those of younger Canadians. Today's seniors have lived through world wars, economic depression, hostile working environments, and periods when there was a lack of information about the hazards of generally accepted social practices, such as alcohol and tobacco use. Although it is unknown whether seniors in the future will be more or less likely than seniors today to use drugs, increased public awareness and adoption of lifestyles and behaviours that promote good health may result in tomorrow's seniors being healthier and less dependent on medical interventions.

⁵ Harold M. Silverman, *The Pill Book*, New York: Bantam Books, 1992.

⁶ D.K. Freeborn, C.R. Pope, J.P. Mullooly, and B.H. McFarland, "Consistently High Users of Medical Care Among the Elderly," *Medical Care*, 1990, Volume 28:527-540.

Michael Bergob is an analyst with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



Provincial Differences in Health Practices

Adapted from *Canada's Health Promotion Survey 1990: Technical Report*.

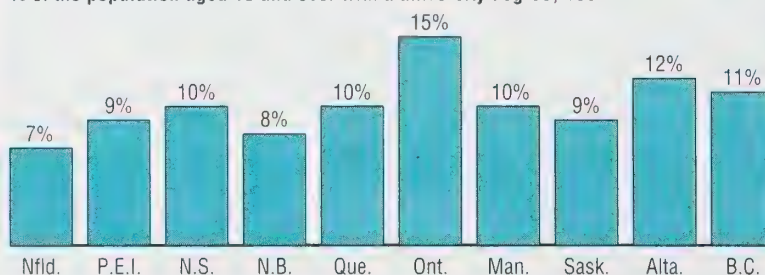


Canadians' lifestyles, including disease and injury prevention practices, affect not only their current, but also their future health and well-being. For example, people who exercise regularly, who do not smoke and who are not overweight tend to view themselves as healthier than others. Lifestyles that promote good health are most common among young people, those with a university education and those with high incomes. It is not surprising, therefore, that provinces with high concentrations of young, well-educated, high-income adults – in particular Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia – have higher proportions reporting favourable lifestyles. People in these three provinces generally are more likely than those elsewhere in Canada to exercise regularly, to have their blood pressure checked and never to drive after drinking. At the same time, cancer detection practices, such as monthly breast self-examinations and Pap smears, are more common among women in Ontario and the Western provinces than elsewhere in Canada.

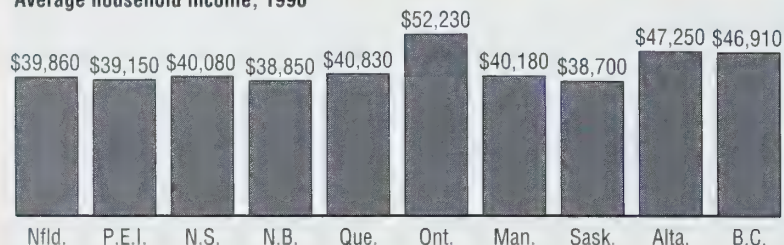
Population characteristics

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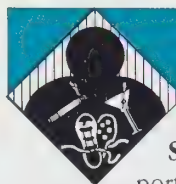
% of the population aged 15 and over with a university degree, 1991



Average household income, 1990



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 93-328 and 93-331.



Health practices

Smoking: A smaller proportion of adult Canadians aged 15 and over smoked cigarettes regularly or occasionally in 1990 (29%) than in 1985 (34%). The 1990 smoking habits of Canadians in most provinces were similar. Residents of Quebec, however, were more likely than those in other provinces to be current smokers (34%).

Smoking was least prevalent in British Columbia (26%) and Ontario (27%).

Smoking was more common among Canadians aged 25-44, those with low educational attainment and those with low household incomes.¹ In 1990, 34% of those with only an elementary education or less smoked regularly or occasionally, compared with 18% of people who had a university education. Similarly, 36% of people with the lowest incomes were current smokers, compared with 25% of people with the highest incomes.

Drinking: The proportion of Canadians who were current drinkers (those who had consumed alcohol at least once in the year before the survey) remained constant between 1985 and 1990 (81%). In 1990, the proportion of current drinkers was generally lower in the Atlantic provinces than elsewhere in Canada. For example, 68% of people in Prince Edward Island had consumed a drink in the year before the 1990 survey, compared with 84% of those in Alberta and British Columbia. At the same time, current drinkers in the Atlantic provinces consumed less alcohol, on average, than did those in other provinces. Current drinkers in New Brunswick and Newfoundland consumed the least (an average of 3.8 drinks in the week before the survey), whereas those in Quebec (4.8 drinks) and Ontario (4.5 drinks) drank the most.

About one-half of current drinkers in 1990 drank twice a month or less, 46% drank at least weekly and 7% drank daily. Current drinkers consumed, on average, 4.4 drinks during the week before the survey. People between the ages of 20 and 44 were the most likely to drink (about 90%), with the proportion dropping to 62% among seniors.

There is a strong relationship between drinking, education and income. People with an elementary education were less likely than those with a university education to be current drinkers (71%, compared with 88%). Similarly, drinking increased from 62% among those in the lowest income bracket, to 92% among those in the highest bracket in 1990.

Tranquilizer and marijuana or hashish use:

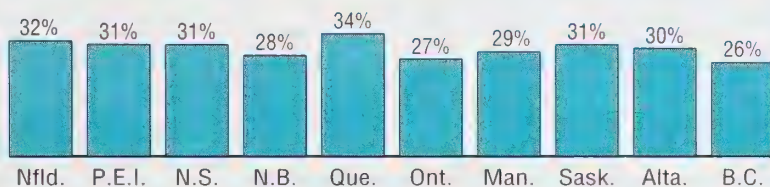
The reported use of these drugs was relatively limited in Canada. In 1990, 5% of Canadians reported using tranquilizers, the same proportion as reported marijuana or hashish use. Provincial differences in the use of these drugs were minor, with the exception of Quebec and British Columbia. In Quebec, 8% of residents reported using tranquilizers in the year before the survey, higher than in the other provinces where proportions ranged from 3% to 5%. In British Columbia, 8% of residents reported using

¹ For the purposes of Canada's 1990 Health Promotion Survey, five income brackets were defined, taking into account household income as well as the number of people in the household.

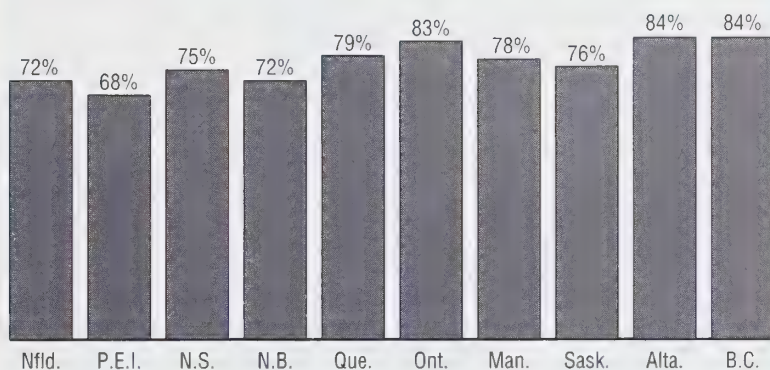
Health practices, 1990

CST

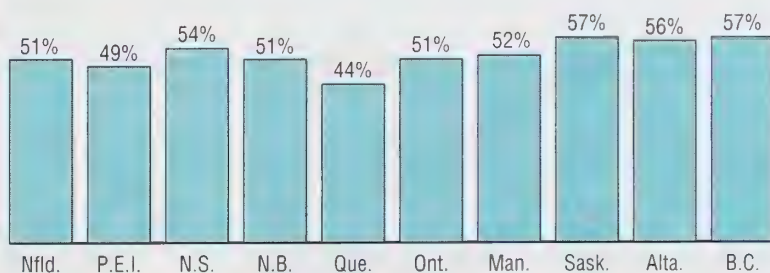
Current smokers¹



Current drinkers²



Exercise 3 or more times per week



¹ People who smoke daily or occasionally.

² People who drank in the 12 months before the survey.

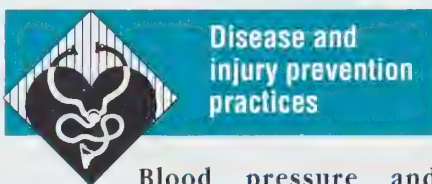
Source: Health Canada, **Canada's Health Promotion Survey 1990: Technical Report.**

marijuana or hashish in the year before the survey, higher than the proportions of 4% to 6% in other provinces.

Use of tranquilizers and marijuana or hashish varied by age. Overall, seniors were more likely (11%) to have taken tranquilizers in the year before the 1990 survey than were younger Canadians (less than 10%). In contrast, marijuana or hashish use was more common among young adults. In 1990, 13% of those aged 20-24 and 9% of those aged 25-34 had used marijuana or hashish in the year before the survey, compared with almost no one aged 45 and over.

Exercise: In 1990, one-half of Canadians reported exercising at least three times a week. There are considerable differences in the activity levels of people across Canada, with Western Canadians generally more likely than those in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces to exercise regularly. In 1990, 57% of residents of British Columbia and Saskatchewan, and 56% of

those in Alberta exercised at least three times a week. In contrast, only 44% of people in Quebec and 49% of those in Prince Edward Island exercised regularly.



Blood pressure and cholesterol:

In 1990, 85% of Canadians reported that they had had their blood pressure measured in the two years before the survey, about the same proportion as in 1985. The proportions of provincial residents reporting a recent blood pressure check were, for the most part, similar to the national figure, ranging from 82% to 88%. Quebec was the one exception, where 79% of people reported a recent blood pressure check. This may explain, in part, why Quebec also had the lowest proportion of people ever diagnosed with high blood pressure (11%).

Residents of Atlantic Canada were generally more likely than those in Ontario and the Western provinces to have had high blood pressure.

In 1990, seniors were the most likely to have had a recent blood pressure check (93%). They were also much more likely than younger people to report having had high blood pressure at some point in their lives (33% of seniors, compared with less than 8% of people under age 35).

About one-in-nine Canadians (11%) reported that they had been diagnosed as having high blood cholesterol. In seven provinces, the proportions were the same as the national figure. Proportions were lower in two Atlantic provinces – Newfoundland (8%) and Prince Edward Island (9%) – and higher in the Western province of Alberta (13%).

Women's cancer detection practices:

Just over one-quarter (27%) of Canadian women reported that they had performed a monthly breast self-examination in the year before the 1990 survey.

In most provinces, the proportion of women performing monthly breast self-examinations was similar to the national figure. The major exception was Quebec, where only 21% of women reported examining their breasts monthly. Women in Quebec were also the most likely never to have examined their breasts (34%). In contrast, less than one-quarter of women in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia reported never having performed a breast self-examination.

The likelihood of monthly breast self-examinations varied considerably by age in 1990. Rates were lowest among young women aged 15-19 (about one-in-ten), and highest among those aged 45-64 (about one-in-three). Unlike most other health-related behaviours, rates were similar among women in each age group, regardless of their educational level.



In 1990, 70% of women reported having had a Pap smear (a procedure to detect the presence of cancerous cells in the uterine cervix) within three years of the survey, in accordance with the recommended frequency. With the exception of Quebec, all provincial rates were close to the national average. In Quebec, only 57% of women reported a recent Pap smear. Similarly, between 12% and 18% of women in provinces outside Quebec reported never having had a Pap smear, compared with 32% in Quebec.

The proportion of women who had had a Pap smear within three years of the survey was highest among those between the ages of 25 and 44 (about 85%). Recent Pap smears were least common among young women aged 15-19 (58%) and seniors (44%). As both very young and senior women are more likely than others to have low levels of education and low incomes, it is not surprising that the likelihood of having had a recent Pap smear increases considerably with education and income.

In 1990, about one-in-five Canadian women reported having had a mammogram within two years of the survey, although the proportion varied considerably by age. Among women aged 50-69, for whom routine screening mammography is recommended every two years, 40% had had this test in the two years before the survey. In contrast, 19% of women aged 70 and over and only 9% of those aged 20-29 had had a recent mammogram. However, regular screening is not routinely recommended in these age groups.

Among women aged 50 and over, 50% reported never having had a mammogram, with the proportion higher in the Atlantic provinces and Saskatchewan than in the rest of Canada. For example, 74% of women in Newfoundland, 67% of those in Saskatchewan and 62% of those in New Brunswick never had been screened. This was the case for 45% of women in Quebec, 46% in Alberta and 47% in Manitoba.

Women aged 50 and over with only an elementary education were more likely than those with a college or university education never to have had a mammogram (55%, compared with 44% in 1990). At the same time, just under two-thirds of older women in the two lowest income brackets never had been screened, compared with one-third of those in the highest bracket.

Dental insurance and care: Dental insurance is not universal and, therefore, not all Canadians have equal access to dental care. In 1990, 56% of Canadians had dental insurance coverage, with the proportion generally higher in Ontario and the Western provinces than in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. In 1990, for example, two-thirds of residents of Alberta (67%) and Ontario (66%) had dental insurance, compared with only

40% of those in both Newfoundland and Quebec.

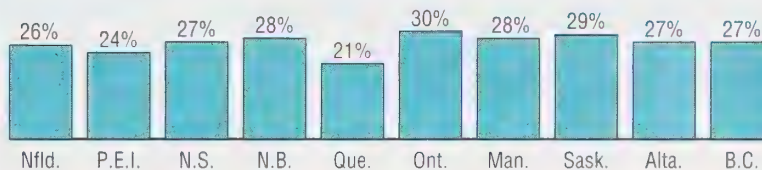
Dental insurance is most common among younger Canadians, with the proportion dropping off considerably in older age groups. About two-thirds of people under age 55 were covered by dental insurance. In contrast, only 43% of those aged 55-64 and 20% of seniors had dental insurance.

People with a dental plan were more likely (66%) than those without coverage

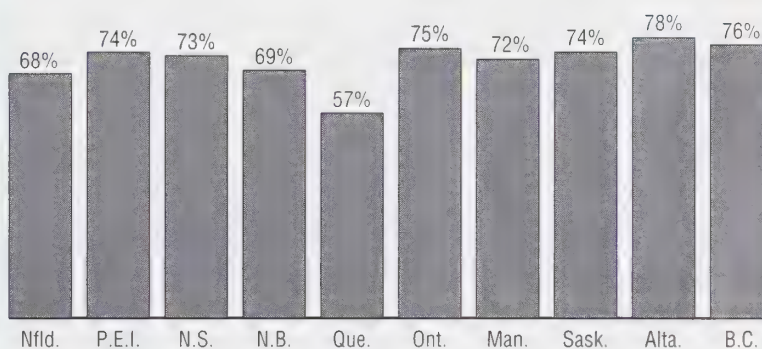
Women's cancer detection practices, 1990

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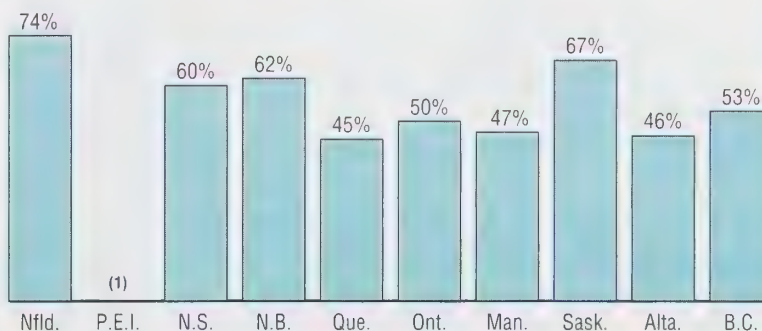
% performing monthly breast self-examinations



% having had a Pap smear within 3 years of the survey



% aged 50 and over never having had a mammogram



¹ Data suppressed due to high sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, **Canada's Health Promotion Survey 1990: Technical Report.**

(46%) to have gone to the dentist in the year before the 1990 survey, a pattern common across all provinces. In addition, Canadians in the two highest income brackets were more likely than those with lower incomes to have seen the dentist in the year before the survey.

In Canada, almost all people (who had at least one of their own teeth) who went to the dentist in the year before the survey either had a check-up or had their teeth cleaned. Fillings or tooth extractions were the next most common reason for a visit. Crown and bridge work, as well as

periodontal care and dental emergencies, were more common among seniors than among younger adults.

Seatbelt use and drinking and driving:

Seatbelt use has become more common in Canada, largely as a result of the adoption of new provincial legislation and the application of specific measures to reinforce the laws. In 1990, 79% of Canadians reported that they always wore their seatbelt, up from 66% in 1985. In 1990, residents of British Columbia (87%) and Quebec (85%) were the most

likely to report that they always used their seatbelt, while those in Manitoba (64%) and Prince Edward Island (66%) were the least likely. About three-quarters of residents in all other provinces reported always wearing a seatbelt. In addition, women (86%) were more likely than men (72%) always to use their seatbelt, a pattern consistent in all provinces.

Between 1985 and 1990, it became more common for Canadians not to drive after they had been drinking. This was not due only to changes in laws, but also to school programs and mass media reinforcement of the social unacceptability of drinking and driving. In 1990, 56% reported that, in the month before the survey, they had not driven within two hours of drinking, up from 50% in 1985. There are, however, considerable provincial differences, ranging from highs of 61% in British Columbia and 59% in Alberta to lows of 50% in Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, and 51% in Prince Edward Island.

Provincial variations in perceived health status

In 1990, 87% of Canadians reported that their health was good to excellent. Despite varied health practices across the country, provincial differences in the proportion of people reporting good to excellent health were relatively small. British Columbia and Alberta residents were the most likely to perceive their health as good to excellent (90% in each province). Proportions were also higher than the national average in Newfoundland (89%) and Ontario (88%), and equalled it in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Manitoba. Residents of New Brunswick (83%), and Quebec and Saskatchewan (each 84%) were least likely to report good to excellent health.

Relatively few Canadians reported fair or poor health, but those with low incomes, regardless of age, were much more likely than others to do so. In 1990, for example, people in the lowest income bracket were seven times more likely (35%) than those with the highest incomes (5%) to report fair or poor health.

- For additional information, see **Canada's Health Promotion Survey 1990: Technical Report**, T. Stephens and D. Fowler Graham (Editors), Health Canada, Catalogue No. H39-263/2-1990E.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

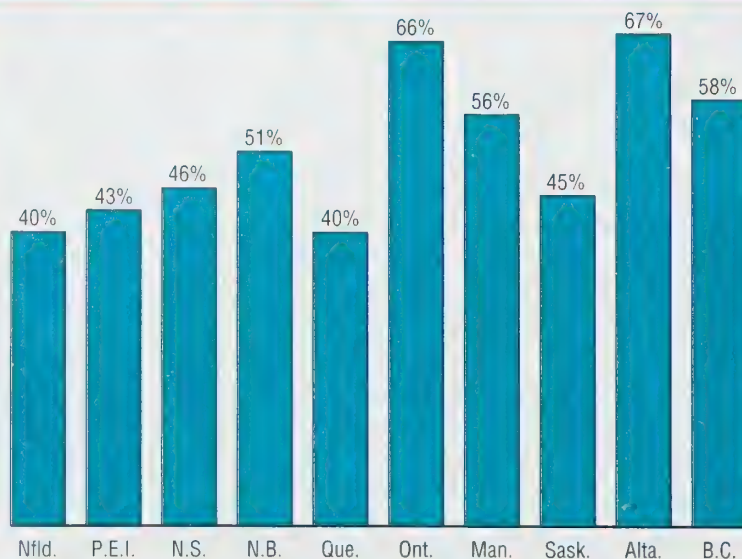
Canada's Health Promotion Survey

The 1990 Health Promotion Survey is similar to one carried out in 1985. The purpose of the 1990 survey was to update and expand the national and provincial baseline data on key health behaviours, attitudes, knowledge and beliefs, started with the 1985 Health Promotion Survey. In addition, it provides data on new topics reflecting emerging concerns, such as environmental impact on health, sexual health practices and dental health.

The 1990 survey, like the 1985 survey, was a random digit dialling telephone survey, in which one person aged 15 and over from each household was interviewed. This resulted in a total sample of 13,792 respondents from the ten provinces.

Proportion of the population covered by a dental insurance plan, 1990

CST



Source: Health Canada, **Canada's Health Promotion Survey 1990: Technical Report**.



SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,203.8 ^{IR}	26,549.7 ^{IR}	26,894.8 ^{IR}	27,379.3 ^{IR}	27,790.6 ^{IR}	28,117.6 ^{PR}	28,435.6 ^{PR}	28,753.0 ^{PP}
Annual growth (%)	1.0 ^{IR}	1.3 ^{IR}	1.3 ^{IR}	1.8 ^{IR}	1.5 ^{IR}	1.2 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PP}
Immigration ¹	88,639 ^F	130,813 ^F	152,413 ^F	178,152 ^F	202,979 ^F	219,250 ^F	239,435 ^R	257,465 ^P
Emigration ¹	50,595 ^F	47,707 ^F	40,978 ^F	40,395 ^F	39,760 ^F	43,692 ^{PR}	48,519 ^{PR}	46,437 ^{PP}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.7	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3 ^R	14.0	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.1	6.4	*	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	*	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	915	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,531	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383
– goods sector (000s)	3,477	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302
– service sector (000s)	8,054	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082
Total unemployment (000s)	1,215	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562
Unemployment rate (%)	9.5	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2
Part-time employment (%)	15.5	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3
Women's participation rate (%)	55.3	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	34.1	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	36,858	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	*
% of families with low income (1986 Base)	13.6	13.1	12.2	11.1	12.1	13.1	13.3	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.8	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	*	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,938.0	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4 ^F	5,295.1 ^P	*
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	796.9	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4 ^R	917.4 ^R	946.3 ^P
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,218	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673 ^R	2,947	3,136 ^R	*
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.5 ^R	5.6 ^R	6.0	*	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	41.4	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	*	*
– women	44.9	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	*	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	25.9	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	*	*
– women	25.5	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	*	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	6.0	5.9	5.8 ^R	5.9 ^R	6.3 ^R	6.8	*	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	808	856	898	948	1,013	1,100 ^R	1,122	*
– property	5,714	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841 ^R	6,394 ^R	6,110	*
– homicide	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.8 ^R	2.7	*
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1991 \$000,000)	166,581.0 ^R	169,773.5 ^R	174,328.5 ^R	181,227.0 ^R	188,899.1 ^R	196,775.1	*	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.4	56.1	56.3 ^R	55.9 ^R	56.6 ^R	58.5	*	*
– as a % of GDP	26.1	25.5	24.8	25.2 ^R	26.7 ^R	29.1	*	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,136.7	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,652.2	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	*
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,892.9	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	*
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+3.3	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4 ^R	-0.2 ^R	-1.7	+0.7 ^R	+2.4
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.2	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8
Urban housing starts	170,863	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988
– Not available * Not yet available ^P Preliminary data ^E Estimate ^m Figures as of March ^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates ^{PP} Preliminary postcensal estimates ^{PR} Updated postcensal estimates ^R Revised data ^F Final data ¹ For year ending June 30 ² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

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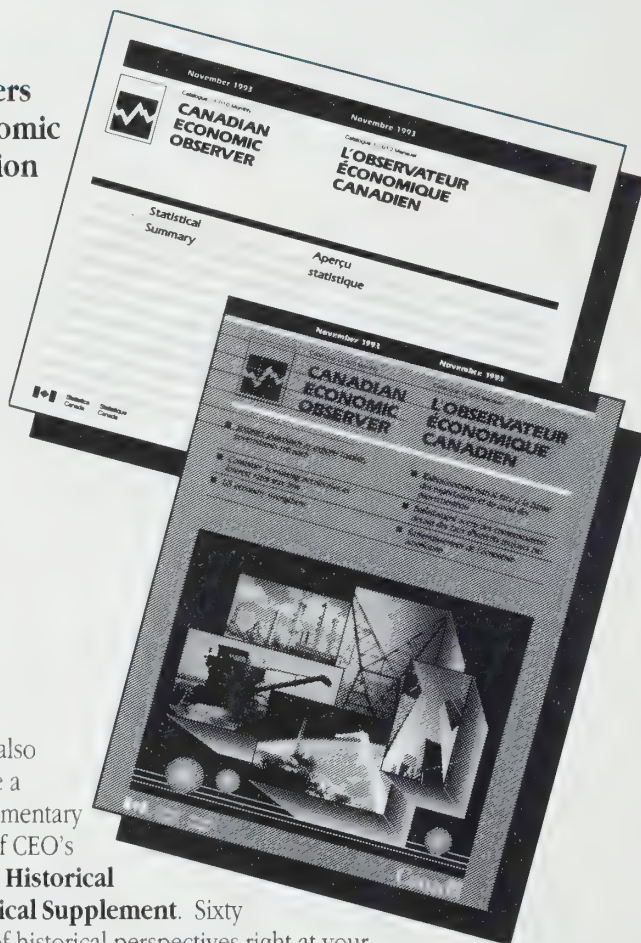
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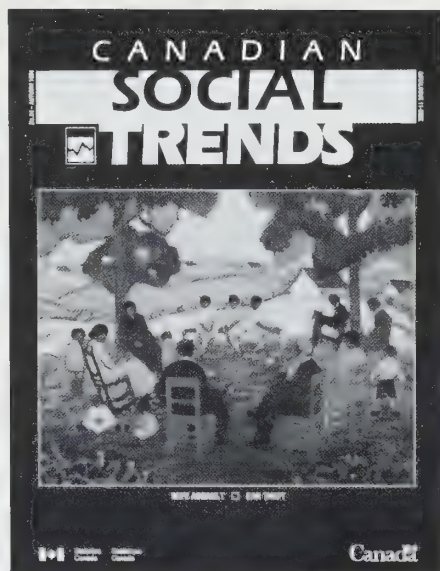
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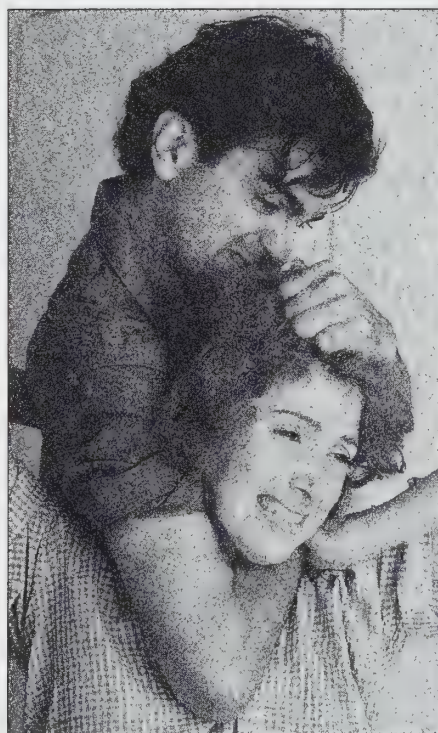




Cover: Le repos (c.1926) oil on canvas, 61.4 x 76.8 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada.

About the artist:

Sarah Robertson (1891-1948) was born in Montreal, Quebec. At the age of 19, she was the recipient of the Wood Scholarship to the Art Association of Montreal. There she began her serious art studies under the instruction and guidance of artists William Brymner and Maurice Cullen. The subjects of many of her paintings were in or about Montreal, while her artistic influences were a combination of French Impressionism and Fauvism. Ms. Robertson died at the age of 57 in Montreal.



CONTENTS

No. 34 - AUTUMN 1994

Wife Assault in Canada <i>by Karen Rodgers</i>	2
Canada's Shelters for Abused Women <i>by Karen Rodgers and Garry MacDonald</i>	10
Fire! <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	16
Motor Vehicle Crimes <i>by Peter Morrison and Lucie Ogradnik</i>	21
Behind the Wheel: Canadians and Their Vehicles <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	28
Social Indicators	31

Cumulative Index of Articles - Winter 1993 Issue

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Editors	Jo-Anne Belliveau Jillian Oderkirk
Production Co-ordinator	Cheryl Sarazin
Marketing Co-ordinator	Alex Solis
Art Direction	Dissemination Division, Statistics Canada
Design	Griffe Design Inc.
Illustrations and Photos	SuperStock; Canapress Photo Service
Review Committee	E. Boyko, D. Desjardins, I. Macredie, D. Norris, D.B. Petrie, G.E. Priest, M.C. Wolfson
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Violence against women by their spouses is widespread in Canada. According to the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey,

by Karen Rodgers

29% of women or 2.7 million who had ever been married or lived common law had been physically or sexually assaulted by their partner at some point during the relationship. Such assaults included only incidents where the violent partner could be charged under Canada's Criminal Code. Of women who had been abused by their spouse, 312,000 experienced the violence in the year before the survey. Many of these women, however, also suffered emotional abuse from their spouses, while still others were emotionally abused without any physical violence occurring.

Wife Assault in Canada

Many women assaulted by their partner reported that he used a weapon to commit the attack. As a result, a high proportion of incidents resulted in a physical injury. Despite the very violent nature of many assaults, few victims reported the incident to the police and even fewer used support services.

Wife abuse has other serious consequences beyond physical injury. Victimized women often suffer emotionally from the abuse, harbouring feelings of anger, mistrust and fear. In addition, although not necessarily victims of physical abuse themselves, children who witness violence against their mothers can be severely traumatized, and are more likely than other children to be in an abusive relationship when they are older, thus perpetuating a cycle of violence.

New partnerships have the highest rates of violence Women who were currently in a marriage or common-law union for two years or less were more likely than others to report that their spouses had abused them in the year before the survey (8%). In contrast, 1% of women in partnerships that had lasted more than twenty years reported spousal violence.

While this is likely true because many violent relationships do not last long, another contributing factor is the age of the partners. Young women aged 18-24 were four times (12%) as likely as women overall to have reported experiencing spousal abuse in the year before the survey. A similar proportion (13%) of women whose partners were under age 25 reported being assaulted during that time.

Other factors, such as employment status, educational level and family income, generally did not have an effect on the likelihood of spousal violence in the year before the

survey. The only exceptions to this were women with university-educated partners and women in very poor families. Women whose spouses had a university education were less likely than others to report spousal violence. On the other hand, women in families with household incomes below \$15,000 were twice (6%) as likely as women with higher family incomes to have been physically or sexually assaulted by their spouse.

Research has suggested that women with disabilities are at greater risk of victimization.¹ According to the survey, 39% of ever-married women with a disability or a disabling health problem reported physical or sexual assault by a partner over the course of their married lives, compared with 27% of other women.

Women more likely to report violence in a past relationship Women living common law at the time of the survey were

more likely (18%) than those legally married (15%) to report that their current partner had abused them at some point. Reported rates of abuse for past relationships, however, were much higher. Overall, 48% of women who previously had been married or lived common law reported that their previous partner had assaulted them.

Violence may increase following separation Sixteen percent of women who had ever been married or lived common law and whose spouse had abused them stated that the violence occurred before they were married. Rates of violence before marriage were lower among legally married women (17%) than among those living common law (28%). The violence in some marriages continued even during pregnancy: 21% of women abused by their spouse were assaulted during pregnancy. In addition, 40% of these women stated that the abuse began during their pregnancy.

Approximately one-fifth of women who experienced violence by a previous partner reported that the abuse occurred following or during separation and, in 35% of these cases, the violence increased in severity at the time of separation.

Most women victimized more than once and in several ways For almost two-thirds of women whose spouse assaulted them, the violence occurred on more than one occasion. Repeated or ongoing abuse was more often reported for previous relationships, indicating that many women leave relationships with more frequent violent incidents. Three-quarters of women who had experienced violence by a previous partner were subjected to multiple assaults, 41% on more than ten occasions. Of women currently living with an abusive partner, 39% had been violently assaulted more than once, 10% more than ten times.

Among women who had ever been assaulted by their spouses, pushing, grabbing and shoving (25%) was the most commonly reported type of violence, followed by threats (19%), slapping (15%), throwing objects (11%) and kicking, biting and hitting with fists (11%). Other less prevalent types of violence included being beaten up, sexually assaulted, choked, hit with an object and having had a gun or knife used against them. This pattern was consistent among women reporting abuse by either a current or previous marital partner. Although pushing, grabbing and shoving was the most frequently reported form of violence, only 5% of the respondents said that this was the only type of abuse that they had suffered. Similarly, just 4% of women said yes to only having been threatened by their partner. This suggests an escalation in seriousness, with threats of violence almost always followed by more serious acts.

Almost one-half (44%) of abused women had a weapon used against them. It is not surprising, therefore, that many women assaulted by their spouse suffered a physical injury (45%). Among those who were injured, the most frequent types of injury reported were bruises (90%), followed by cuts, scratches and burns (33%), broken bones (12%) and fractures (11%). Also, almost 10% of injured women stated that they suffered internal injuries or miscarriages.² Many injuries were severe

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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Violence Against Women Survey

In recent years, the issue of violence against women has reached prominence on the agendas of all levels of governments. Between February and June 1993, under the federal government's Family Violence Initiative Program, Health Canada funded Statistics Canada's first national survey on Violence Against Women. The primary objective of the survey was to provide reliable estimates of the nature and extent of male violence against women in Canada. With assistance from victims and survivors of violence, community groups, federal and provincial government representatives, academics and other experts, Statistics Canada developed a unique method and approach to measure violence against women.

This telephone survey took into account the extreme sensitivity of the subject matter. Interviewers were trained to recognize and respond to cues that the woman might be concerned about being overheard. Telephone numbers of local support services were offered to women who disclosed current cases of abuse or who appeared to be in distress. As well, a toll-free telephone number provided women with an opportunity to call back and verify the legitimacy of the survey, or to continue the interview at a time and place more convenient to them.

Every household in the ten provinces stood an equal chance of being selected. Households without telephones could not participate, nor could women who did not speak English or French. Only 1% of the female population of the ten provinces lives in households without telephone service; in approximately 3% of the households contacted, there was a non-response due to language. A total of 12,300 women aged 18 and over were interviewed about their experiences of physical and sexual violence since the age of 16.

enough to require medical attention from a doctor or nurse, with approximately four-in-ten (543,000) women injured by their spouse requiring such help. In addition, one-half of abused wives who suffered physical injuries had to take time off from their everyday activities because of the assault, somewhat higher than the proportion of all abused wives (about one-third).

Given the repetitive nature of spousal violence, the extensive use of weapons and the severity of many injuries, it follows that many abused wives (about one-third) have feared for their lives at some point during the relationship. Such fear was less common in current than in previous marriages. Of women currently in a violent union, 13% (130,000) had at some point feared that their spouse would take their life, while this was the case for 45% of women who previously had lived with an abusive partner.

Men who witnessed violence against mother more likely to assault spouses

According to a recent analysis by the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, children who grow up in homes where there is wife assault may begin to act out learned behaviour. "For boys this may mean perpetuating a cycle of violence in future relationships with women by imitating the behaviour of their fathers. In the event that girls become involved in relationships with violent men when they grow up, they may see few options for themselves to escape from the situation."³ Given the strong relationship between witnessing violence as a child and being in an abusive marriage later in life, there are indications that the cycle of violence may continue in some families. According to the Violence Against Women Survey, 39% of women in abusive marriages reported

that their children saw them being assaulted. In addition, children are seeing very serious forms of violence.

In 52% of abusive relationships in which children witnessed the violence,

women feared for their lives. Furthermore, in 61% of violent marriages in which children witnessed the abuse, the violence was serious enough to result in the woman being injured.

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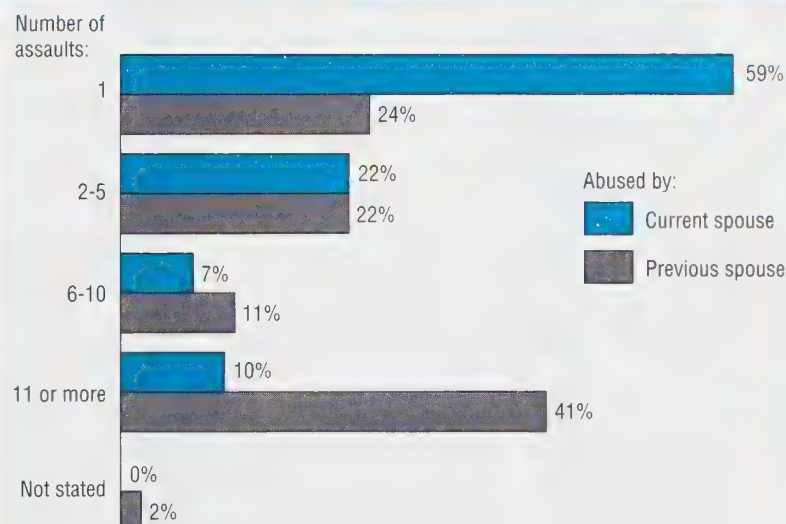
Many women emotionally abused Research has suggested that emotional abuse can produce lasting, harmful effects and that physical and emotional abuse often occur together. Approximately one-third of all women who had ever been married stated that their spouse was emotionally abusive, with previous partners described as more abusive than current partners. Most women (77%) who had been physically assaulted by their spouse also suffered emotional abuse. At the same time, however, many women (18%) had been emotionally abused in their marriage, even though they were not victims of physical violence.

A woman can be subjected to a variety of emotionally abusive situations by her spouse. He may insist on knowing who she is with and where she is at all times (22%); he can call her names to put her down or make her feel bad (21%); he can be jealous and not want her to talk to other men (19%); or he can try to limit her contact with family or friends (16%). In addition, he can limit her independence by not giving her access to, or even telling her about, the family income (10%).

Eighty-five percent of women who reported wife assault indicated that they were affected emotionally by the violence. The most commonly reported consequences were anger, fear, becoming more cautious or less trusting, and low self-esteem. Many women also reported being depressed or anxious, feeling ashamed or guilty, and having problems relating to men.

Proportion of ever-married women¹ who were abused by their spouse, 1993

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¹ Jillian Ridington. **Beating the Odds: Violence and Women with Disabilities.** Vancouver:DAWN Canada, 1989.

Bridget Rivers-Moore. **Family Violence Against Women With Disabilities.** Ottawa: The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Health Canada, 1993.

Dick Sobsey. "Sexual Offences and Disabled Victims: Research and Practical Implications." **Vis-a-Vis**, 6:4. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1988.

² Percentages do not add to 44% because of multiple responses.

³ Beth Allan. **Wife Abuse - The Impact on Children.** Ottawa: The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Health Canada, 1991.

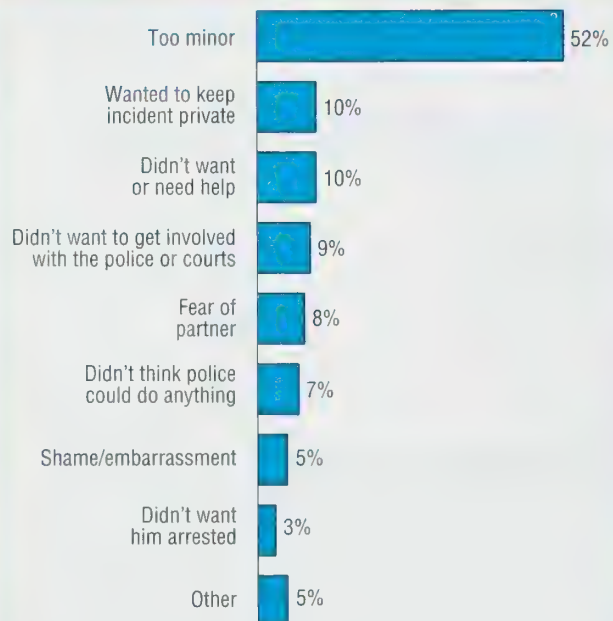
¹ Includes common-law unions.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Violence Against Women Survey.



Reasons why abused wives did not report violence to police, 1993

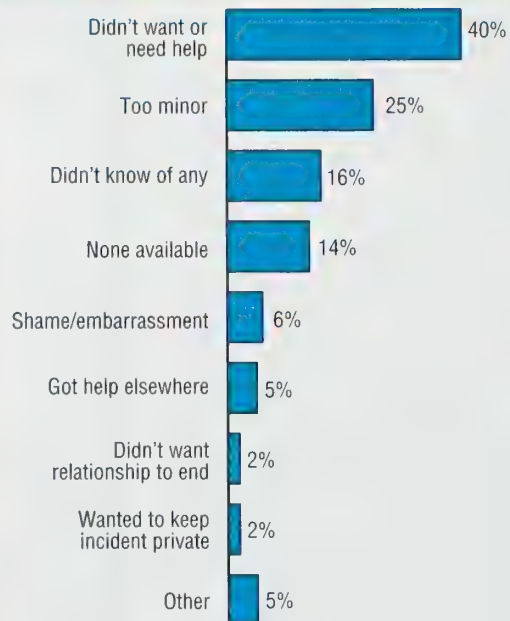
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Note: Figures do not add to 100% because of multiple responses.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Violence Against Women Survey.

Reasons why abused wives did not use social services, 1993

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Note: Figures do not add to 100% because of multiple responses.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Violence Against Women Survey.

In addition, 17% of all women, regardless of whether they had ever been married, stated that, to the best of their knowledge, their father was violent toward their mother. Nine percent of currently married women and 17% of previously married women stated that their father-in-law had been violent toward their mother-in-law.

The results of this survey support the theory that children from abusive homes are at greater risk of abusing or being abused. Women with a violent father-in-law were three times (36%) more likely to have been abused by a current partner than women whose father-in-law was not violent (12%).

Women whose father-in-law abused his wife were also more likely than other women to endure repeated and more violent spousal assault. Fifty-five percent of women whose partner had witnessed violence when growing up reported being abused by that partner on more than one occasion, compared with 35% of women whose partners had not witnessed violence. Women with a violent father-in-law were more likely to be injured (37%) than those whose father-in-law was not abusive (21%). In addition, women with a violent father-in-law were more frequently beaten, choked or hit than other victims of wife assault.

Few women used support agencies Various types of social services are available to women in abusive marriages, including social services such as shelters and transition homes, crisis centres, individual counsellors, women's centres and community or family centres. However, relatively few women made use of such services. A total of 24% (683,000) of women abused by a marital partner used one or more social services. Women most frequently sought help from an individual counsellor (15%), while 8% contacted and 6% stayed at a shelter (representing 200,000 who contacted and 150,000 women who stayed in a shelter). While this survey does not examine trends over time, the increase in the availability of services for victimized women may have produced an increase in the percentage of women who have used these services in recent years.

While the use of formal social services by abused wives is fairly limited, the vast majority of women who used them found them to be helpful. Counsellors (83%) and transition houses (81%) were most often considered helpful, followed by crisis centres (77%), women's centres (73%) and community/family centres (65%).

Women who were injured by their partner (35%) or whose children had witnessed the spousal assault (38%) were twice as likely to use a social agency as those not in these situations. Women who reported the assault to the police were more likely to have contacted a social service (46%) than those who had not reported to the police (17%).

Women from abusive marriages relied most heavily on their family (45%) and friends and neighbours (44%) when they needed help. Many women (40%) also stated that these personal sources of support were the most helpful in dealing with the violent experience. Some abused wives, however, turned to other sources of help: 23% told a doctor about their experience, while 7% went to a religious leader for support.

Few incidents reported to the police In the early 1980s, mandatory domestic assault charging policies were initiated

across the country to increase charging by the police and prosecution in cases of wife assault. These policies were intended to encourage women to report assault offences to the police. Nonetheless, according to the Violence Against Women Survey, relatively few women (26%) in abusive marriages reported the violence to the police.

Of abused women with children, those whose children witnessed violence against them were almost three times as likely (43%) as others (16%) to report their partner to the police. At the same time, 43% of women who indicated that they were injured at some point during the relationship had reported the abuse at least once to police, compared with only 12% of those who were never injured. In addition, women were four times more likely (42%) to report to the police if a weapon had been used against them than if this was not the case (11%). Women who suffered from repeated or ongoing spousal assault were also more likely to report to the police: 49% of women who had been abused more than ten times reported at least once to the police, compared with 6% of those who experienced only one episode.

One-half of women who contacted the police said that they were satisfied with the way the police handled the case. In 21% of reported cases, the police put the woman in touch with a community service. The police saw the victim in 84% of reported cases, but in only 28% of these cases was a charge laid. However, 79% of charges laid by the police resulted in the offender appearing in court.

Of women who reported to the police, 39% said there was nothing else that the police should have done. Another 24% stated that the police should have been more supportive and 20% felt the police should have laid a charge against the perpetrator. Police intervention decreased or stopped the violence in 45% of marriages. In 40% of reported cases, there was no change in the man's behaviour following police intervention, and in 10% of reported cases, the violence actually increased.

Many women never tell anyone According to the Violence Against Women Survey, 22% of women assaulted by their spouse never told family or friends, the police, a support agency or anyone else about the abuse they had suffered. In 18% (111,000) of these cases, the woman was injured. A similar proportion (15%) reported more than one episode of violence, and 11% had been abused on more than ten occasions. Of women who had never told anyone, 10% had at some point feared for their lives.

Women have a variety of reasons for not telling people about their abuse, including a feeling of shame or embarrassment, being too afraid of their spouse or not having anyone to turn to. Women cited very specific reasons for not reporting to the police, including that they felt that the incident was too minor (52%) or wanting to keep the incident private or not wanting help (each 10%). Similarly, there were a number of reasons why women did not go to a formal social agency for help. The primary reason given by abused wives was that they did not want or need help (40%).

Alcohol and drugs often used to cope with violence Women may use a variety of ways to cope with their partners' abusive behaviour. Approximately one-quarter of ever-married women who have lived with violence reported using alcohol, drugs or medication to help them cope with the situation. This included

12% who used alcohol, 9% who used drugs or medication, and 5% who used both alcohol and drugs or medication. Women who suffered emotional abuse as well as physical assault more frequently reported the use of alcohol or drugs to cope (31%). In addition, women who sustained an injury were more likely to use alcohol or drugs (41%). Alcohol use by women previously with a violent partner was almost twice the rate (15%) of those currently living with violence (8%). Also, women previously with a violent partner were three times (12%) more likely to have used drugs or medication than those currently with a violent partner (4%). These differences may reflect the fact that women who left a violent relationship had suffered more frequent or ongoing abuse.

In one-half of all violent partnerships, the husband was drinking at the time of the assault. The rate of wife assault for women currently living with men who drank regularly in the year before the survey (at least four times per week) was triple (6%) the rate of those whose partners never drank (2%). Women whose partners drank heavily (five or more drinks at a time) were six times (11%) as likely to be abused than those whose partners never drank.

Many women leave abusive partners, but many return Less than one-half (43%) of women who reported abuse by a spouse left him for a short while because of his abusive or threatening behaviour. A number of factors were linked to this decision. For example, 74% of women who had reported an incident to the police indicated that they had stayed apart from their partner, compared with only 32% of those who never reported to the police. Women who feared for their lives at some point during the relationship were more than twice as likely to have left their partner (72%) as those who had not had this fear (28%). Similarly, women whose children had witnessed the violence were twice as



likely to leave (60%) as those whose assault had not been witnessed by children (28%).

The majority of women who left their partner stayed with friends or relatives (77%), followed by transition homes or shelters (13%). A number of women got their own place (13%) and 5% stayed in a hotel.⁴ Almost three-quarters of women who left eventually returned home.

The most common reasons why women returned home were for the sake of the children (31%), followed by wanting to give the relationship another chance (24%), the partner promising to change (17%) and a lack of money or housing (9%). Women whose partner received counselling for his abusive behaviour were more likely to return home (81%) than those whose partner did not get professional help (70%).

Conclusion The 1993 Violence Against Women Survey has shed considerable light on the extent of violence against women, including wife assault. Of

women in a current marriage, 201,000 were physically or sexually assaulted at least once by their spouse in the year before the survey.

The risk of becoming a victim of wife assault is particularly high for young women in new partnerships, and those living in lower income households – situations which often occur together. Children who witness the spousal abuse of their mother are much more likely than others to be involved in violent marriages as adults – creating a new generation of victims and abusers.

To date, many positive approaches have been taken to deal with the problem of wife assault. Since the early 1980s, police charging practices against abusive spouses have tightened. Also, additional resources have been directed to fund more shelters and other services for abused women and their children. Despite these efforts, a sizable minority of spousal assault victims suffer in silence, never reporting these

acts of violence to anyone.

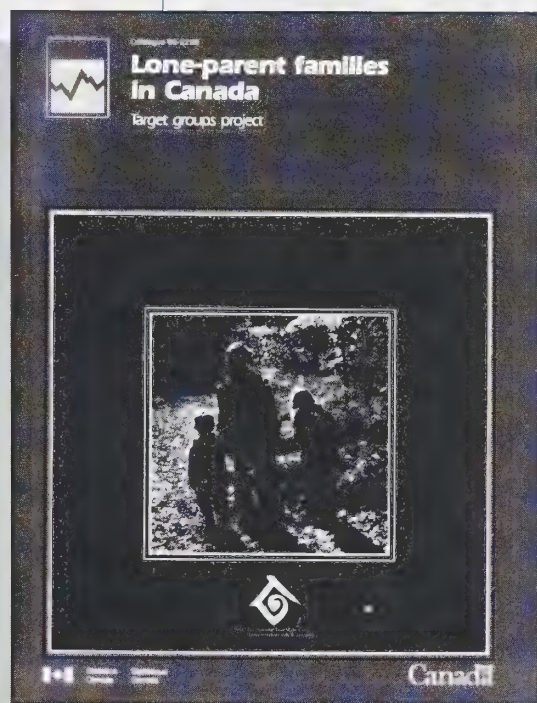
While most of these approaches offer help to women only after they have been assaulted, attempts have been made to address the problem before abuse occurs. The 1993 anti-stalking legislation (Bill C-126), for example, is one such measure that may reduce assaults by spouses or other men. Continuing efforts may lead to a better understanding of the circumstances surrounding abuse and how best to reduce violence against women.

⁴ Percentages do not total 100% because of multiple responses if women left more than once.

Karen Rodgers is a senior analyst with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.



Lone-parent families in Canada



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The structure of family living in Canada has changed dramatically in the last several decades. The growing number of lone-parent families has been one of the most profound developments. In fact, by 1991, there were almost one million lone-parent families, representing one of every five families with children. As well, women make up the vast majority of lone parents.

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by Karen Rodgers and Garry MacDonald

Canada's Shelters for Abused Women

The number of residential facilities or shelters¹ for abused women has been steadily increasing since the 1970s, with the largest growth occurring in the 1980s. According to the 1992-93 Transition Home Survey, there were almost 400 shelters providing services for women and their children in physically or emotionally abusive situations. These facilities provide not only a secure environment for abused women and their children, but also services including general information and crisis counselling, public education and court accompaniment. In addition, women are also referred to a variety of mental health-related services, addiction programs, and medical and legal services. Despite the growing number of shelters, women who use these facilities represent only a small proportion of women abused by their partners.



Number of shelters for abused women growing

On March 31, 1993, there were 371 shelters for abused women across Canada. Only 18 of these shelters existed prior to 1975, while an additional 57 began operation between 1975 and 1979. Since then, the number of residential facilities has grown rapidly, as issues of family violence and violence against women gained the attention of federal and provincial governments.

Shelters are intended to provide safe housing for women in abusive situations, and they use a variety of measures to ensure the safety of women and children who come to them. According to the Transition Home Survey, the most frequently cited security measures employed were rules for admitting non-residents, followed by an intercom system, an alarm system, steel doors, an unlisted address/phone number and security fencing.

Most residential facilities (90%) were governed by volunteer Boards of Directors with the number of members ranging between 1 and 54. However, the majority (87%) of the facilities had between 5 and 15 members. Two hundred and twenty-five facilities (68%) indicated using volunteers to help run the shelters. The average number of volunteers per facility was 15.

Shelters for abused women are, for the most part, well integrated into the communities they serve. Protocols and understandings are maintained with social agencies, medical resources, the legal community and police services. In most cases, the shelters are linked to provincial or territorial associations and many are part of established multi-agency committees.

Most facilities serve women from urban, suburban and rural areas

Almost 60% of shelters indicated that they served people from more than one geographic area. The remaining facilities served women primarily in urban areas (18%), in rural/village areas (18%), those on reserves (3%) and those in suburban areas (2%). Over one-half (55%) of shelters were concentrated in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, the two provinces that account for the largest adult female populations. The proportional distribution

of provincial and territorial facilities was similar to that of women aged 15 and over, and to that of women with the highest risk of being abused (those aged 15-24 currently in a legal marriage or in a common-law union). While most women (82%) received help within their own community, others travelled a great distance to get help from a shelter. For 16% of women, their principal residence was more than 100 km from the shelter.

Wide array of services provided

Services provided by shelters depend to a great extent on the needs of the victimized women and children, and can vary with the availability of services in the surrounding community. Most facilities (96%) provided general information and crisis counselling to their clients. Other in-house services included public education (90%), court accompaniment (89%), follow-up (82%) and a crisis telephone line (79%). Most facilities also were in a position to refer women with special needs to services such as mental health-related services (90%), addiction programs (89%), legal services (89%) and medical services (87%). In-house services for children most often included individual counselling (75%), child care (58%) and group counselling (54%).

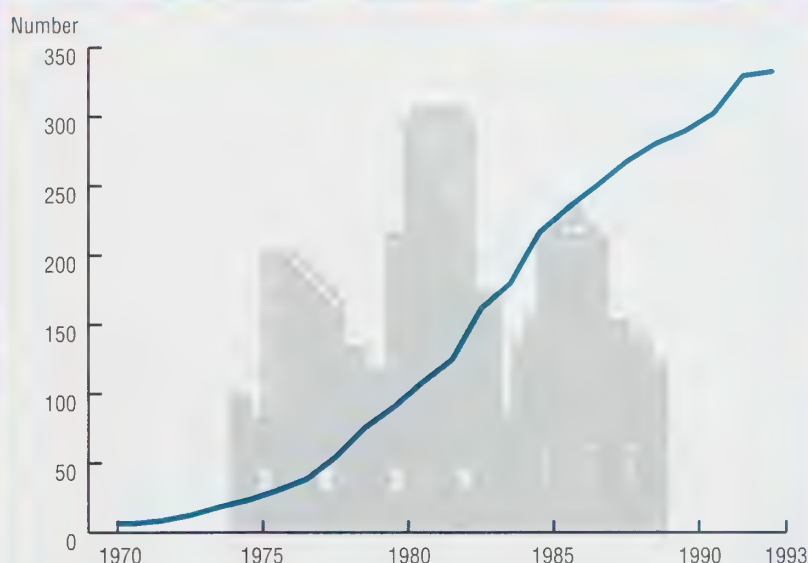
Most shelters also offered assistance to non-residents by providing crisis intervention (77%), responding to information needs (64%) and court accompaniment (52%). These services were provided through telephone contact, letters, visits or walk-ins. On March 31, 1993, 577 contacts were made seeking residential services, 2,077 for non-residential services and 447 for other reasons. On that day, the number of calls to shelters ranged from 0-181, averaging 11 per facility. Between 1991-92 and 1992-93, the number of contacts to shelters for abused women increased by 30%.

Many facilities provide for women with special needs

Almost one-half of shelters accepted women who had not been physically or emotionally abused. Many facilities (over 40%) also reported that they could accommodate women with special needs, such as those who suffered from substance abuse or who required medical attention. As well, slightly less than one-quarter reported that they could accommodate women with either a serious mental health disorder or a history of being violent. Many facilities took measures to serve women with disabilities, ensuring that they had access for wheelchairs (44%), audiotapes and braille

Shelters for abused women, 1970 to 1992-93¹

CST



¹ Data as of March 31, 1993. Excludes 39 shelters that did not respond to the survey.
Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Transition Home Survey.

¹ The term "shelter" is used to refer to a wide array of residential facilities, ranging from transition homes to emergency shelters.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Types of shelters

The term shelter is used broadly to refer to all shelters or residential facilities for abused women and their children. The types of shelters are defined for the Transition Home Survey as:

Transition home – Short- or moderate-term (1-8 weeks) secure placement for abused women with or without dependent children. (288 in 1993)

Second-stage housing – Long-term (3-12 months) secure placement for abused women with or without dependent children. (22 in 1993)

Family resource centre – An Ontario initiative which provides services that are identical or similar to transition homes. Must at least provide a residential service. (11 in 1993)

Safe home network – Subsidiary, very short-term (1-3 days) placement for abused women, with or without dependent children, in private homes. (13 in 1993)

Satellite – Short-term (3-5 days) secure respite for abused women with or without dependent children. These shelters are usually linked to a transition home or another agency for administrative purposes. (4 in 1993)

Emergency shelter – Short-term respite for a wide population range, not exclusively for abused women. Some may provide accommodation for men as well as for women. This type of facility may have residents not associated with family violence but who are without a home because of some other emergency situation. (15 in 1993)

Other – All other homes/shelters for victims of family violence not otherwise classified or that did not respond to the survey. (18 in 1993)

How abused women in shelters found out about such services:



32% found out on their own



14% were referred by a social services agency



13% from a friend or relative



13% through another shelter



7% from the police



5% from a help or distress phone line



4% from a medical professional



4% through health social services



3% by another shelter user



1% through an Aboriginal organization



11% other referral source

Note: Figures do not add to 100% because of multiple responses.

material (16%), and telephone devices (TDD) (11%). In addition, 40% of facilities reported that they liaise with groups that represent people with disabilities.

Approximately one-in-five facilities served primarily Aboriginal women, while less than 10% primarily served ethno-cultural and visible minority women. In addition, 44% of the facilities offered culturally sensitive services to Aboriginal women, and 41% provided culturally sensitive services to ethno-cultural and visible minority women.

Admissions increasing In the fiscal year 1992-93, there were 86,499 admissions to the 303 facilities that responded to the survey question. Almost all of these were to transition homes (89%). An admission is the official acceptance of a woman or child into a facility with the allocation of a bed, and a person may be admitted more than once during the year. Comparing facilities that responded to the survey in 1991-92 and 1992-93, there was a 2% increase in admissions.

On March 31, 1993, 3% of women living in shelters had some form of disability (including mobility, visual, hearing and other physical disabilities). This percentage is much lower than the estimated number of ever-married abused women with disabilities (24%) and of all women with disabilities (16%). Two-thirds of the residents preferred to speak English, almost one-quarter preferred French and 12% preferred to speak a language other than English or French.

Younger women less likely to use shelters According to the Transition Home Survey, the largest proportion of women residing in a shelter were aged 25-34 (43%), with only 24% aged 15-24. Women aged 55 and over accounted for only a small proportion of those in shelters in 1992-93 (3%), not surprising given their low reported rate of wife assault.

The vast majority of abused women in shelters on March 31, 1993 were seeking shelter from someone with whom they had an intimate relationship (85%). Eighty-three percent of these women indicated that their spouse or partner was the abuser, 14% of the women were abused by a former spouse or partner and 4% were abused by a current or former boyfriend.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Transition Home Survey

The federal government's Family Violence Initiative proposed a coordinated interdepartmental action plan targeting family violence on a number of different fronts. One of the objectives was to address the need for better national information on the nature and extent of family violence in Canada. In response, the Health Statistics Division (formerly Canadian Centre for Health Information) conducted a survey of transition homes to identify the services they provided and the characteristics of residents.

The 1992-93 Transition Home Survey was distributed to all transition homes, shelters, second-stage housing, family resource centres, safe home networks, satellites and emergency shelters identified as providing residential and non-residential services to victims of wife assault. The survey allowed for the collection of data on services dispensed during the previous twelve months and provided a one-day snapshot of the characteristics of the residents on a specific day. In 1992-93, there were 371 shelters for abused women. Of these, 332 facilities (89%) responded to the survey, up from the 79% response rate for the 1991-92 survey.

Violence Against Women Survey

The Violence Against Women Survey was a random telephone survey of women aged 18 and over. The survey did not include women without phones, those who spoke neither English nor French, or women living in shelters or other institutions. However, respondents included women who had used shelters or other residential facilities for abused women at some point. The definitions of violence in the Transition Home Survey and in the Violence Against Women Survey differ. The Transition Home Survey captured data on women who had gone to shelters because of a range of abuse, including physical, sexual, financial and psychological abuse as well as threats and neglect. The Violence Against Women Survey captured detailed information on the use of transition homes for only those women who were either physically or sexually abused by a current or previous spouse or common-law partner. Measures of violence for the Violence Against Women Survey were restricted to Criminal Code definitions of assault and sexual assault in order to capture "violence" as it is legally defined.

Most women stay less than 20 days On March 31, 1993, the national occupancy rate for shelters for abused women and their children was 68%,² but may be higher or lower at different times of the year. The most common length of stay at a facility was 11 to 20 days (39%), followed by 10 days or less (27%). The total bed capacity of the reporting facilities ranged from 2 to 80. One-third of shelters indicated that they had 10 or fewer beds, 44% had between 11 and 20, 12% had 21 to 30 and 10% had more than 30. Of the 222 facilities that reported having cribs, 88% had 5 or less.

Women who use shelters represent a small proportion of abused women According to the Violence Against Women Survey, 13% of abused women who left their spouses because of their abusive or threatening behaviour stayed in a shelter. Most women who left their spouses stayed with friends or relatives (77%), other women got their own place (13%) or stayed in a hotel (5%).

There are several reasons why abused women do not go to a formal social agency or shelter for help. The main reasons were that they did not want or need help (40%), that the incident was too minor (25%), that they were unaware of any services (16%) and that there were no services available (14%). However, 81% of women who had used a shelter said they found it to be helpful.

Women who use shelters as a safe haven from abuse are often in desperate situations. On March 31, 1993, there were 1,870 women in shelters, 80% of whom were admitted for reasons of abuse. Seventy-two percent of these women reported psychological

abuse, 69% indicated physical abuse, 44% had received threats, 28% indicated financial abuse and 22% reported sexual abuse. The remaining 20% of women sought refuge for reasons other than abuse. Approximately three-quarters of these non-abused women went to a shelter because of housing problems.

Women more likely to go to shelters when children witness violence Children witnessing violence in the home appeared to have been a factor in women's decisions to go to a shelter. According to the Violence Against Women Survey, 78% of women who stayed in a shelter indicated that at some point their children had witnessed some of the violence against them, compared with 39% of all abused women. It appears that children are witnessing very serious forms of violence. Children had witnessed violence in 52% of abusive marriages in which women had feared for their lives and in 61% in which women had been injured.

On March 31, 1993, three-quarters of women with children seeking refuge from abusive situations were admitted with their children. On that day, 1,636 children were residents in shelters, some without their mothers. Almost one-quarter of women were protecting their children from psychological abuse, 13% from physical abuse and 5% from sexual abuse. An additional 112 (7%) children were admitted to shelters for reasons not related to abuse.

² For some shelters, operating at 68% may mean that they are full because they included temporary beds, e.g. roll-out cots, in their total number of available beds. The range of occupancy rate by facility was from 0% to 243%. This excludes safe home networks and second-stage housing.

Almost half (45%) of all children admitted because of abuse in the home were under age 5.³ Children aged 5-9 accounted for 32%, those aged 10-14 made up 20%, while the smallest group (3%) were aged 15-18.

Most women who use shelters have suffered injuries According to the Violence Against Women Survey, women's use of shelters was also strongly linked to the severity of the violence.⁴ Over 80% of

women who used shelters had suffered an injury at some point during the abusive relationship, compared with 45% of all abused women. In addition, 63% of women who stayed in a shelter had at some point been injured severely enough to seek medical attention, compared with 19% of all abused women. According to the Transition Home Survey, 26% of women in shelters on March 31, 1993 required medical attention for the most recent incident of abuse. In a further 27% of cases, it was not

known whether the woman had sought any medical assistance. The Violence Against Women Survey showed that women who stayed in a shelter were more than twice as likely to have feared for their lives (85%) as all abused women (39%), and were more likely to have taken time off from their everyday activities because of the abuse (57% versus 31%).

Many women who stay at shelters report abuse to police

According to the Violence Against Women Survey, 26% of all abused women reported a violent incident to the police at some time during the relationship. Of women in shelters on March 31, 1993, 30% had reported the most recent incident of abuse to the police. In over one-half of these cases, charges were laid by the police. Restraining orders were obtained in 13% of cases. In 7% of cases, the intervention of the Child Protection Services was required, and in only 2% of cases was it indicated that there was intervention by Adult Protection Services.

Most women return to abusive partners

According to the Violence Against Women Survey, almost three-quarters of the women who left their abusive partner eventually returned home. The most common reason why women returned home was for the sake of the children (31%), followed by wanting to give the relationship another chance (24%), her partner promising to change (17%) and a lack of money or housing (9%). Women whose partner received counselling for his abusive behaviour were more likely to return home (81%) than those whose husband did not get such help (70%).

³ Percentages are based on the 1,498 children for which ages were given.

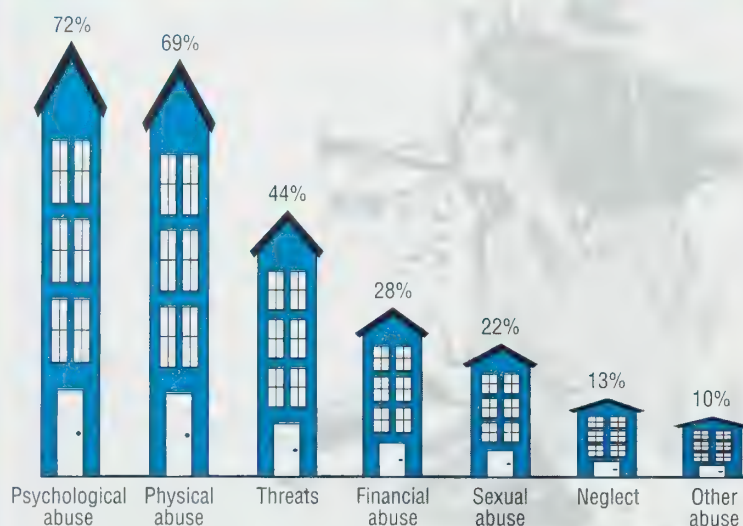
⁴ In the Violence Against Women Survey, the severity of the violence was measured by whether the woman was ever injured, whether medical attention was sought, whether she ever feared for her life, and whether she had to take time off from her everyday activities because of the abuse.

Karen Rodgers is a senior analyst with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics and **Garry MacDonald** is a senior analyst with the Health Statistics Division, both with Statistics Canada.



Women in shelters, by type of abuse, March 31, 1993

CST



Note: Figures do not add to 100% because of multiple responses.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Transition Home Survey.

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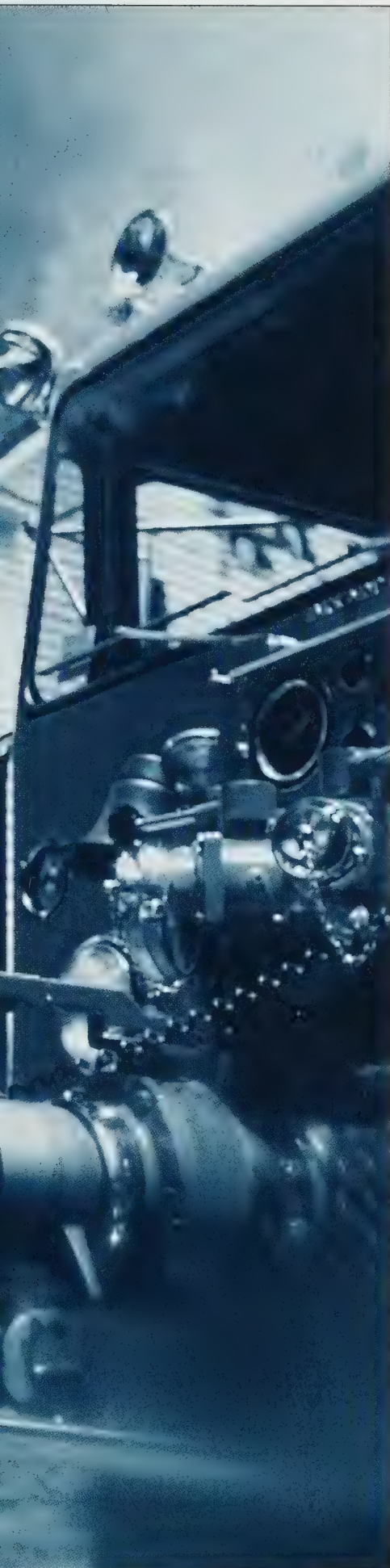
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FIRE!

by Cynthia Silver

Uncontrolled fire has always been feared and society has gone to great lengths to keep this hazard at bay. Protective measures, including the maintenance of well-trained and equipped fire fighters, strict building codes, household fire detectors and fire prevention education programs, have saved lives and prevented injuries. As a result, the "great fires" in the histories of many communities are only a memory.

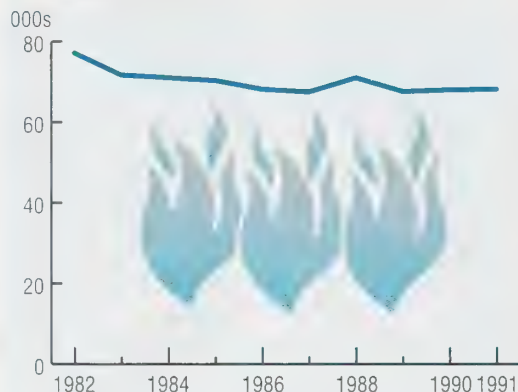
According to the Association of Canadian Fire Marshals and Fire Commissioners (ACFMFC), the number of fires, the resulting dollar losses and the fire-related death rate all have declined since the early 1980s. There were 68,150 fires in 1991, down 12% from 77,174 in 1982.¹ Over the same period, estimated losses from fires dropped 19% to \$1.24 billion from \$1.53 billion (in 1991 dollars). The rate of deaths due to fires dropped more quickly: for every 100,000 people, there were 1.45 fire-related deaths in 1991, half the 1982 figure of 2.93.

Residential properties the most common site of fires There were 30,484 residential fires in 1991, representing almost half of all fires and dollar losses from fires that year. Most residential fires occurred in single-family and semi-detached homes (69%), followed by row

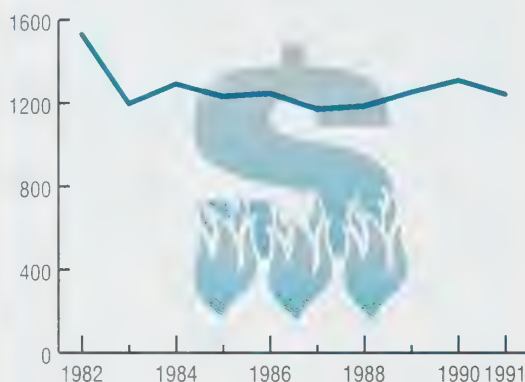
Fires, 1982 to 1991

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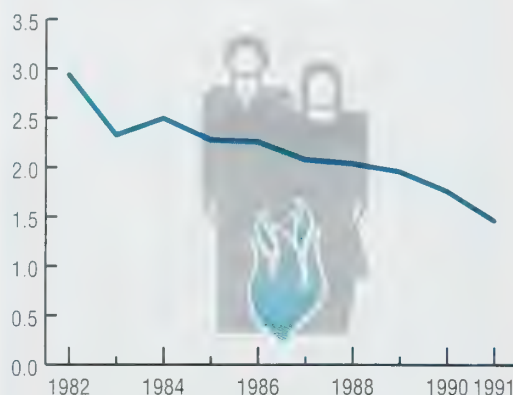
Number of fires



Fire losses in 1991 constant dollars (millions)



Fire deaths per 100,000 population



Source: Association of Canadian Fire Marshals and Fire Commissioners, 1991 Annual Report of Fire Losses in Canada.

houses, apartments and flats (20%), and mobile homes and trailers (4%).

Ground transport vehicles (such as cars) were also a common site of fires, accounting for 27% of all fires in 1991 and 6% of all dollar losses from fires. Businesses, institutions, farms, schools, public places, industrial sites and outdoor properties accounted for the remaining 28% of fires. Outdoor property fires include incidents such as grass and garbage dump fires, but exclude most forest fires.¹

Most homes have smoke detectors and many have fire extinguishers

Over the past decade, the number of households equipped with smoke detectors and portable fire extinguishers has grown. In 1993, 92% of households had a smoke detector, up from 65% in 1984. Although the proportion of renters with smoke detectors increased dramatically to 87% in 1993 from 49% in 1984, home owners remained the most likely to have a smoke detector. In 1993, 94% of home owners had at least one smoke detector, up from 74% in 1984.

Portable fire extinguishers are also becoming more common in residential properties. One-half of all households had at least one in 1993, compared with 40% of households in 1987. Home owners were more than twice as likely (63%) as renters (26%) to have this equipment.

Source of ignition often smokers' materials or open flame

Smokers' materials (for example, burning cigarettes) or open flame (including matches, lighters, candles and torches) ignited 18% of all fires in 1991. Other frequently identified sources of fire ignition included cooking equipment (13%), electrical distribution equipment (for example, faulty wiring) (10%), and heating equipment (9%). The source of ignition in a large proportion of fires, however, was undetermined (20%) or attributed to miscellaneous sources (19%).

Mechanical or electrical failure leading cause of fires

The cause of a fire, that is, a human error or action that resulted in a fire, is more difficult to determine than the actual source of a fire's ignition. Some fires occur accidentally, while others are set deliberately.

In 1991, one-quarter of fires resulted from mechanical or electrical failure or malfunction. The next most common cause of fires was the misuse of smokers' materials or open flame (17%). This includes 2% of fires caused by children playing with such items. Arson or suspected arson resulted in 6% of fires. Another 10% were deliberately set, but a charge of arson could not be laid. This could include incidents in which children under age 12 set the fire, but, because of their age, were too young to be charged, as well as those in which a person was charged with a more serious offence than arson. In 35% of fires, the specific cause was not classified.

Many arsonists under age 18

Arson statistics from the ACFM-FC tend to be understated because the cause of many fires is not known. According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics,

¹ Data include all fire incidents reported to provincial and territorial fire commissioners by fire departments or insurance companies.

there were 12,407 arson and attempted arson offences in 1991. Almost nine-in-ten people charged with arson were men, 52% of whom were aged 18 and over and 34% of whom were young male offenders aged 12-17.

Most fire-related deaths and injuries occur in residential properties In 1991, there were 406 fire-related deaths, with most (86%) occurring as a result of residential property fires. Although ground vehicle transport fires accounted for one-quarter of all fires, they resulted in a relatively small proportion of fire-related deaths (5%). Most of the 3,589 fire-related injuries in 1991 also resulted from fires in residential properties, followed by those in mercantile and industrial manufacturing properties (8%) and vehicles (5%).

Most deaths (68%) and injuries (55%) resulting from residential property fires occurred in single-family and semi-detached homes. Many residential property deaths (16%) and injuries (34%) also occurred in apartments, tenements and flats.

Although rooming house fires accounted for a very small proportion of all residential property fires (1%), they were the most likely to cause death or injury. In 1991, there were 35 deaths or

injuries for every 100 rooming house fires. Of all residential property fires, those in apartments, tenements and flats were the next most likely to cause death or injury, 16 victims for every 100 fires. In contrast, there were 8 deaths or injuries for every 100 fires in single-family or semi-detached homes.

Most fire victims are men The number of people who died from fires has declined over the past decade, from 406 in 1991 from 723 in 1982. In 1991, all people killed in fires were civilians, that is, non-fire fighters.

Most civilians killed as a result of fire in 1991 were men (58%), while 24% were women and 18% were children. Similarly, of the 2,273 non-fire fighters injured by fire, 57% were men, 30% were women, 11% were children and the remainder were not classified.

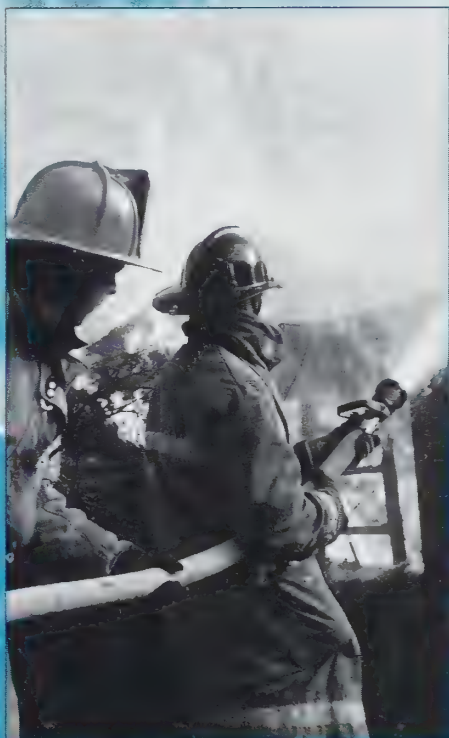
The most common cause of fire-related deaths among civilians was the misuse of a source of ignition, such as smokers materials, or of ignited material. In 1991, about one-third of men's (30%) and women's (33%) fire-related deaths occurred as the result of such misuse. Among men, human failing, including suspected impairment by alcohol or drugs and falling asleep, was the second leading cause of fire-related deaths (13%), followed

Fires and fire losses, by jurisdiction, 1991

CST

Jurisdiction	1991 population	Number of fires	Losses \$000s	Deaths and injuries
Newfoundland	568,475	689	22,870	29
Prince Edward Island	129,765	838	5,310	0
Nova Scotia	899,945	2,472	31,770	100
New Brunswick	723,900	2,023	16,100	51
Quebec	6,895,965	14,485	373,560	631
Ontario	10,084,885	23,129	383,080	1,934
Manitoba	1,091,945	5,085	48,500	232
Saskatchewan	988,930	2,929	38,710	102
Alberta	2,545,555	7,678	112,160	377
British Columbia	3,282,060	7,671	174,990	459
Yukon	27,800	275	3,160	2
Northwest Territories	57,650	212	7,310	29
National Defense	110,183	202	6,200	10
Indian Reserves	283,406	356	8,380	35
Federal Properties	217,818	106	7,630	4
Canada	27,908,282	68,150	1,239,720	3,995

Source: Association of Canadian Fire Marshals and Fire Commissioners. 1991 Annual Report of Fire Losses in Canada.



CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Canadian fire fighters

According to the 1991 Census, there were 27,300 fire fighters in Canada, or one for every 1,000 people. In 1971, the fire-fighter ratio was one for every 1,200 people.

Virtually all fire fighters in 1991 were men (99%) and most (64%) were aged 30-49. Postsecondary education was common among fire fighters, with 34% having a postsecondary certificate or diploma in 1991.

Most fire fighters worked full-year full-time (80%) in 1990. That year the average employment income of fire fighters who worked full-year full-time was \$44,760. Average employment income varied by province, ranging from \$37,150 in Nova Scotia to \$47,790 in Alberta. Not all of fire fighters' employment income is from fire fighting, since most work shifts and have the opportunity to obtain other sources of employment income.



Fire fighters, by province, 1991

CST

	Experienced labour force	Worked full-year full-time in 1990	
		Number	Average employment income \$
Newfoundland	605	535	39,770
Prince Edward Island	35	n/a ¹	n/a ¹
Nova Scotia	855	720	37,150
New Brunswick	715	605	38,430
Quebec	4,540	3,805	43,870
Ontario	10,935	9,470	46,250
Manitoba	1,340	1,070	42,600
Saskatchewan	985	675	40,570
Alberta	3,065	2,470	47,790
British Columbia	4,015	3,120	44,370
Yukon	50	n/a ¹	n/a ¹
Northwest Territories	160	n/a ¹	n/a ¹
Canada	27,300	22,555	44,760

¹ Data not available

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 93-327 and 93-332.

by arson, suspected arson and other set fires (10%). Among women; on the other hand, this latter category ranked second (14% of fire-related deaths) and human failing ranked third (8%).

The misuse of a source of ignition or ignited material was also the leading cause of fire-related deaths among children, accounting for 34% of deaths. One-half of these children were killed because they had been playing with smokers' materials or other sources of ignition. However, no adults were killed in 1991 by fires started by children playing with these sources. Human failing also resulted in a relatively large proportion of children's fire-related deaths in 1991 (16%). The cause of death was unclassified in just under one-third of all cases among both children and adults.

As with deaths, the leading cause of fire-related injuries among civilians was the misuse of a source of ignition or ignited material. Such misuse resulted in 34% of fire-related injuries among men, 38% among women and 52% among children. Human failing ranked second, accounting for a much larger proportion of injuries than of deaths. In 1991, one-quarter of fire-related injuries among men, women and children were the result of human failing.

Many fire fighters are also victims Fire fighting is a dangerous occupation. Although no fire fighters were killed as a result of fires in 1991, a total of 33 died between 1982 and 1990. In addition, 1,316 were injured in fires in 1991, accounting for 37% of all fire-related injuries.

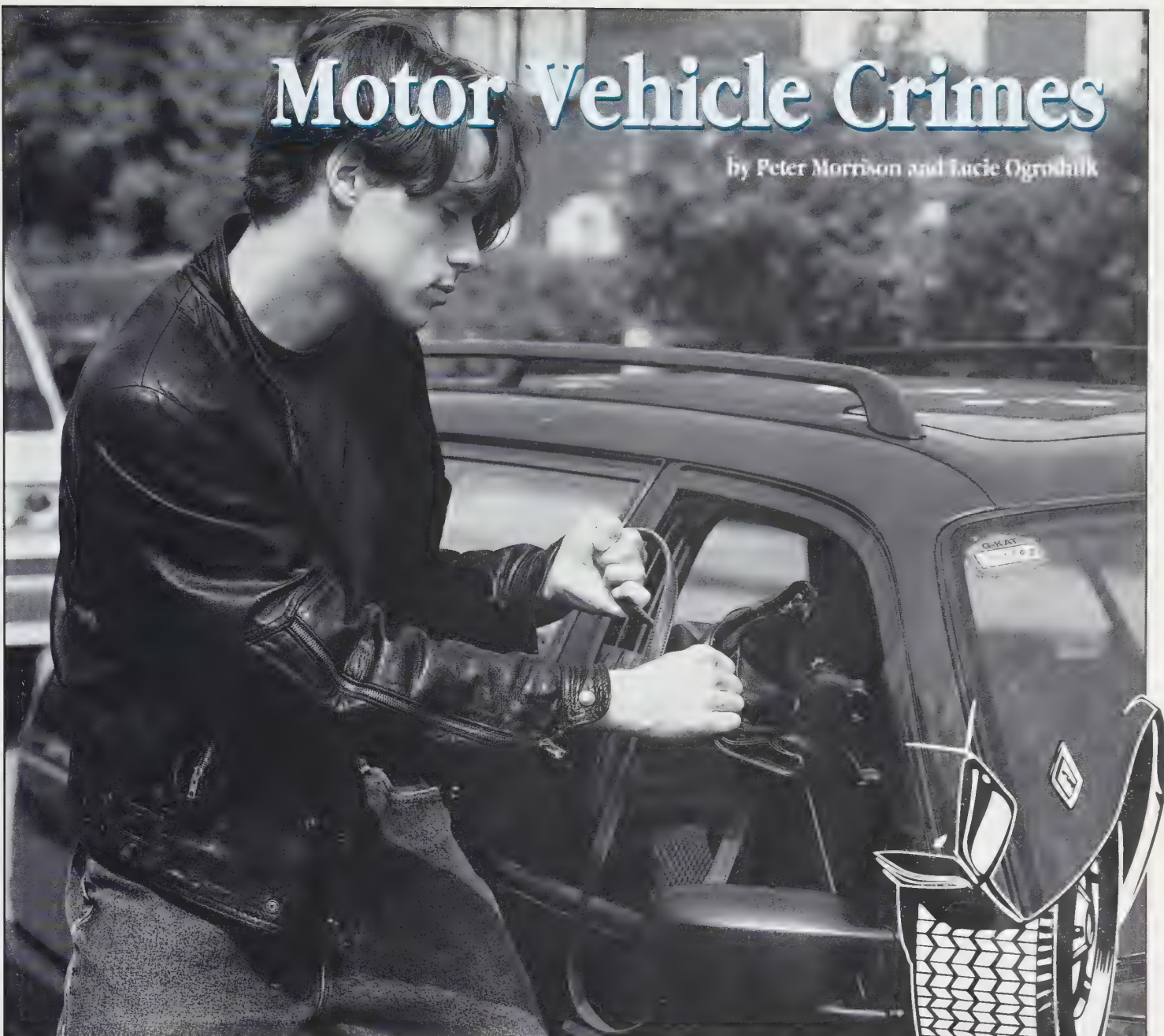
According to the 1992 National Work Injuries Statistics Program, about 8 of every 100 fire fighters claimed time-loss injuries that were accepted by Workers' Compensation Boards and Commissions. This rate was twice as high as that for police officers (about 4 per 100 police officers), but lower than that for other dangerous occupations. For example, there were 18 injuries for every 100 long-shoremen and 17 for every 100 furnacemen operating smelters in 1992.

Cynthia Silver is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.



Motor Vehicle Crimes

by Peter Morrison and Lucie Ogorodnik



A ccording to the General Social Survey (GSS), one-in-ten households owning a motor vehicle was a victim of a motor vehicle crime in 1993.

This included not only the theft of a vehicle¹ or its parts, but also motor vehicle vandalism. Despite this figure, motor vehicle crimes maintain an image of being victimless. This is likely because individuals assume little direct cost for their stolen vehicles, usually being reimbursed by insurance companies. However, indirectly, motor vehicle crimes contribute to rising insurance rates and increased costs to the criminal justice system.

In 1992, one of every hundred registered motor vehicles was reported stolen, and automotive parts or personal property were stolen from two of every hundred vehicles. Such thefts can be stressful for vehicle owners, often leaving them inconvenienced by the lack of personal transportation. Losses from motor vehicle thefts, property thefts from motor vehicles and vandalism amounted to \$1.6 billion,² according to the 1993 GSS. This figure excludes the cost of police investigations and the economic cost of days lost from work. In sharp contrast, the Canadian Bankers' Association reported \$50 million in losses from credit card fraud during the 1991 fiscal year, and the Insurance Bureau of Canada reported that annual losses from bank robberies average about \$3.3 million.

146,846 motor vehicles reported stolen in 1992 According to the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey, 146,846 motor vehicles were stolen in Canada in 1992, the highest annual total recorded since 1961, the year comparable statistics were first collected. The rate of theft remained relatively unchanged during the 1980s, before beginning to rise in the 1990s. The rate of vehicles stolen averaged 5.9 per 1,000 registrations between 1982 and 1990. In 1992, there were 8.4 motor vehicle thefts for every 1,000 registrations.

Theft of property from motor vehicles followed a similar pattern. There were 22.4 property thefts from motor vehicles for every 1,000 registrations in 1992, up from an average of 19.8 per 1,000 registrations between 1982 and 1990.

Theft rate highest in Quebec Owners of motor vehicles in Quebec were the most likely to have had a vehicle stolen during 1992. That year, 13.4 of every 1,000 registered motor vehicles in that province were stolen. The second highest theft rate was in Alberta, where 10.9 of every 1,000 vehicles were stolen. The Atlantic provinces reported rates considerably lower than Central or Western Canada, ranging from a high of 3.7 in Prince Edward Island to a low of 1.8 in Newfoundland.

British Columbia had the highest provincial rate of property thefts from motor vehicles in 1992, 35.8 per 1,000 vehicle registrations. Alberta (23.5) and

Ontario (23.3) were the only other provinces to exceed the national average. As was the case for motor vehicle theft, the Atlantic provinces reported the lowest provincial rates of thefts from vehicles, ranging from 15.6 in Nova Scotia to 8.0 in New Brunswick.

Most motor vehicle crimes occur in parking lots and at night According to the police forces reporting to the revised UCR Survey, 48% of all motor vehicle thefts, 47% of thefts from vehicles and 45% of vandalisms took place in parking lots in 1992. Streets, roads and highways were the second most common location of motor vehicle crimes, with 30% of motor vehicle thefts, 34% of thefts from motor vehicles and 39% of vandalisms occurring there. Twenty-one percent of motor vehicle thefts, 17% of thefts from motor vehicles and 14% of vandalisms occurred at a residential location, such as the owners' driveway.

Motor vehicle crimes are more likely to take place during the night. Approximately three-quarters of thefts and vandalisms occurred between 6 p.m. and 8 a.m. The likelihood of a vehicle being stolen did not increase during the weekend.

Level of security of some vehicles weak At the time of the motor vehicle theft, 23% of vehicles were not locked, 20% had keys left inside and 2% were left running. These figures may actually be higher because victims of vehicle theft are likely reluctant to report negligent vehicle security out of fear of jeopardizing their insurance coverage.

Aside from the basic security measures of locking vehicle doors and not leaving keys inside, it is not known whether anti-theft devices, such as alarm systems or etching of the Vehicle Identification Number (VIN) on vehicle windows inhibits motor vehicle theft. Theoretically, VIN etching allows stolen parts to be identified and thus renders them undesirable for the resale trade. Organized thieves, however, are able to remove or alter VINs.

Joyriding most common reason for vehicle theft Motor vehicles are typically stolen for one of the following reasons: joyriding, using to commit a crime, resale, export or stripping for parts.

According to the Motor Vehicle Theft Survey, joyriding was the most common reason (76%) in cases where the purpose of the theft was known. Joyriding is typically committed by amateur thieves who usually abandon the vehicle shortly after its disappearance.

Stolen motor vehicles are also often used for various criminal activities, such as getaway cars during robberies or for the transportation of drugs. In 1991, 14% of stolen vehicles were used to commit other criminal offences or to escape from authorities. A further 7% of recovered vehicles were stolen for disassembly and resale of their parts. Stolen vehicles can often net double their original value when parts are sold on the black market. The increasing cost of vehicle replacement parts has no doubt contributed to growth in auto theft for parts.

Another type of vehicle theft involves owners who fraudulently report their vehicle as stolen. In 1991, 2% of vehicle thefts were linked to owners attempting to defraud their insurance companies. The remaining 1% of vehicles stolen were resold. This activity usually involves professional thieves operating in organized rings who target specific vehicles for theft and resale. This figure may be higher since the detection of stolen vehicles being resold is difficult.

Most vehicles stolen are cars, and keys are used to commit the theft According to the UCR Survey, almost two-thirds of all motor vehicles reported stolen in 1992 were automobiles (65%), while 22% were trucks or buses. Six percent of thefts were motorcycles, and 8% were other motor vehicles, such as snowmobiles, tractors or all-terrain vehicles.

The two most common techniques for gaining access to motor vehicles were using the keys (43%) (keys may have been stolen, duplicated or left in the vehicle) and disabling the ignition lock cylinder (42%). The vehicle steering lock was the focus of attack in 10% of cases, while a tow truck was used to remove vehicles in 1% of cases. For the remaining

¹ Excludes airplanes and boats.

² This amount includes losses from other property thefts and vandalisms (personal and/or household) that occurred at the same time as the motor vehicle crimes. Therefore, the amount is slightly overestimated.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST



Vehicle vandalism most common in Canada

In 1988, the risk of having a motor vehicle stolen was highest in France (2.8%), Australia (2.6%) and England and Wales (2.4%), according to an international crime survey.¹ Of the fourteen countries surveyed, Canada ranked 10th with less than 1% of all motor vehicle owners experiencing a motor vehicle theft. The risk of victimization in the United States was more than twice that of Canada.

For thefts from vehicles, Spain (14.6%) and the United States (9.7%) ranked first and second highest respectively, while Canada (8.1%) ranked third. Vandalism to motor vehicles was most common in Canada (11.0%), followed by the former West Germany (10.8%) and Holland (10.6%). The United States experienced less vehicle vandalism than Canada, ranking 6th overall (9.3%).

Since 1980, the motor vehicle theft rate has been consistently lower in Canada than in the United States. However, the Canadian rate has continued to rise in recent years, whereas the American rate has remained relatively stable. In Canada, the rate increased to 8.4 per 1,000 registered motor vehicles in 1992 from 5.5 in 1988. The rate in the United States was about 8.3 per 1,000 throughout this period.

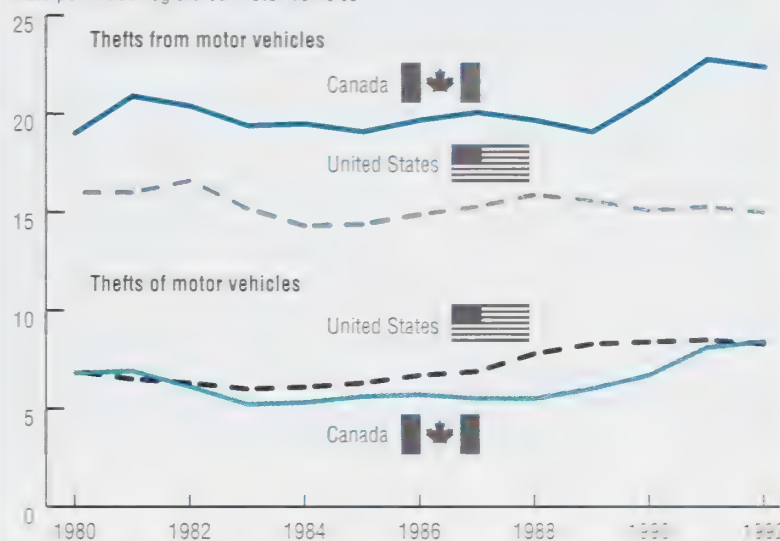
In contrast, the rate for property thefts from motor vehicles, including both parts and personal property in the vehicle, has been considerably higher in Canada for each year since 1980. The Canadian rate increased to 22.4 per 1,000 registered motor vehicles in 1992 from 19.0 per 1,000 in 1980. The American rate was relatively stable throughout the period. In 1992, for example, it was 15.0 per 1,000 vehicles.

¹ Jan J. M. Van Dijk, Pat Mayhew and Martin Killias (1990). *Experiences of Crime Across the World: Key Findings from the 1989 International Crime Survey*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers. The first international victimization survey was conducted in fourteen countries between 1984 and 1988.

Motor vehicle crimes, Canada and the United States, 1980 to 1992

CST

Rate per 1,000 registered motor vehicles



Sources: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, and United States, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Proportion of car owners victimized, 1988

CST

Theft of cars		Theft from cars		Car vandalism	
France	2.8	Spain	14.6	Canada	11.0
Australia	2.6	United States	9.7	West Germany	10.8
England/Wales	2.4	Canada	8.1	Holland	10.6
N. Ireland	2.2	Australia	7.8	Australia	9.9
United States	2.2	Scotland	7.7	Scotland	9.4
Spain	1.9	England/Wales	7.3	United States	9.3
Norway	1.4	France	7.1	Spain	9.2
Scotland	1.2	Holland	6.8	England/Wales	8.8
Belgium	1.0	West Germany	5.8	Belgium	8.0
Canada	0.9	N. Ireland	5.5	France	7.6
West Germany	0.5	Finland	3.5	N. Ireland	6.1
Finland	0.5	Norway	3.5	Norway	5.7
Holland	0.4	Belgium	3.3	Finland	5.2
Switzerland	0.0	Switzerland	2.4	Switzerland	5.2

Source: Jan J. M. Van Dijk, Pat Mayhew and Martin Killias (1990). *Experiences of Crime Across the World: Key Findings from the 1989 International Crime Survey*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers.

3%, other means were used such as hot wiring or pushing.

Hondas popular car theft targets A total of 16,850 automobiles, trucks, motorcycles and trailers were stolen between July and September 1991,

according to the Motor Vehicle Theft Survey. The most popular car models stolen were the Chevrolet Camaro, Honda Civic and Honda Accord. The Honda Accord (38%) and Honda Civic (35%) were also the least likely to be recovered by the police.

Type of automobile stolen¹

CST

Make/Model	Stolen	Not recovered
	Number	%
Chevrolet Camaro	549	25
Honda Civic	518	35
Honda Accord	426	38
Ford Mustang	370	30
Pontiac Firebird	310	29
Chevrolet Cavalier	300	24
Oldsmobile Cutlass	294	25
Toyota Corolla	283	22
Volkswagen Jetta	244	34
Honda Prelude	239	26

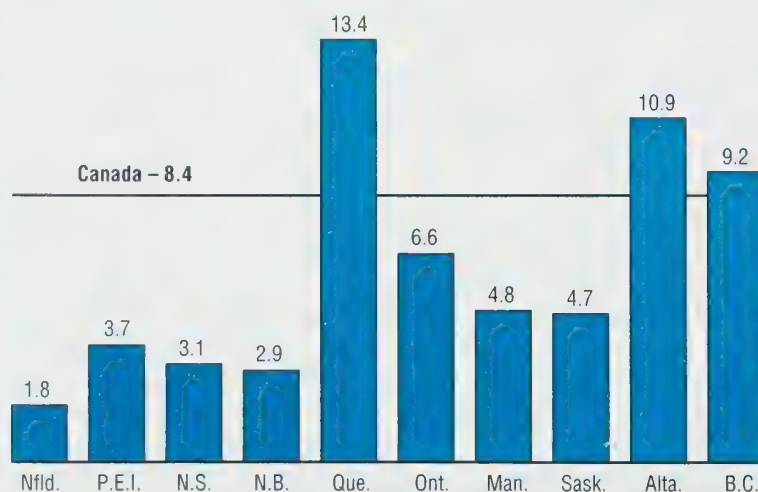
¹ Includes automobiles stolen between July and September 1991 where the make and model were known. Excludes pickup trucks, motorcycles, trailers and attempted thefts. The likelihood of any particular car model being stolen is difficult to assess as the total "population at risk is not known" (i.e. proportion of vehicles on the road by make and model). Furthermore, it is difficult to determine whether these models are sought after because they are in high demand, easier to steal or highly available due to their popularity with car owners.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Motor Vehicle Theft Survey.

Motor vehicle theft, by province, 1992

CST

Rate per 1,000 registered motor vehicles



Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Radios and stereos most commonly stolen items from motor vehicles

According to the revised UCR Survey, radios and stereos were stolen in 26% of thefts from motor vehicles in 1992. Other items stolen included vehicle accessories such as hubcaps or tires (16%), personal items such as clothing or luggage (15%), currency or identification such as credit cards (10%), and machinery and tools (6%). While firearms accounted for less than 1% of all property stolen, approximately 1,620 firearms were taken from motor vehicles.

Most stolen motor vehicles returned after two days, many damaged

Since 1980, the proportion of unrecovered vehicles has been increasing, rising to 27% in 1992 from 19% in 1980. Among the provinces, Quebec had the highest proportion of motor vehicles not recovered at 44% in 1992, while British Columbia had the lowest rate at 14%. According to the Motor Vehicle Theft Survey, vans (79%) and cars (72%) were the most likely to be recovered, while snowmobiles (30%) and trailers (23%) were least likely.

Of motor vehicles recovered, 42% were located within 24 hours of being stolen, 16% were recovered between 24 and 48 hours and 42% were recovered after more than 48 hours. Over three-quarters (79%) of recovered stolen vehicles were found locally (within the police jurisdiction where the theft occurred).

Although most stolen vehicles are returned to their owners within two days, they are seldom returned in their original condition. Most stolen vehicles (55%) were damaged upon recovery. Of these, 67% had been involved in an accident, 21% had parts or accessories missing, 8% were totally destroyed and rendered unusable and almost 4% were completely disassembled.

Motor vehicle vandalism represented 63% of all motor vehicle crime reported to the 1993 GSS. In addition, motor vehicles were the most common target in vandalisms, representing 56% of such incidents.

Theft and vandalism costs reach \$1.6 billion

According to the GSS, losses from motor vehicle thefts amounted to \$907 million in 1993, with another \$112 million in losses from motor vehicle parts. Motor vehicle vandalism accounted for an



additional \$572 million. More than 60% of all incidents in which a loss was reported, resulted in losses of under \$500. A further 30% of motor vehicle crimes resulted in losses in excess of \$1,000.

The average loss from a motor vehicle theft in 1992 was \$5,190, compared with \$870 for thefts of accessories or property from vehicles. Damages to a stolen motor vehicle averaged \$920, while damages averaged \$290 when the violation involved the theft of property from the vehicle and \$510 when a motor vehicle was vandalized.

Generally, such losses are not paid for directly by victims of car crimes, but rather are covered by insurance. In 1992, Canadian households paid nearly \$8 billion in automotive insurance premiums. Households with at least one motor vehicle spent an average of \$814 to insure their vehicle(s).

Most motor vehicle crimes are unsolved More than eight out of ten motor vehicle crimes were unsolved by the police in 1992. Theft of property from motor vehicles ranked highest at 94% unsolved, followed by vandalism of motor vehicles (93%) and theft of motor vehicles (84%).

In 5% of cases, a motor vehicle reported stolen was "cleared otherwise."

Cleared otherwise refers to an incident that is cleared by the police using one of twelve reasons, none of which results in the laying of a charge. The most common reason for a vehicle theft case to be cleared otherwise (36%) was that the

police or crown attorney declined to lay charges. This is often because the owner reported a vehicle stolen only to learn that a relative or acquaintance had borrowed it without permission. When an incident involving a theft from a motor

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Motor vehicle crime statistics National data on motor vehicle theft and vandalism in Canada are extracted from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey of the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS). There are two versions of the UCR Survey running concurrently. The older UCR Survey measures the level of criminal activity that comes to the attention of the police. Individual police forces participate in this survey by submitting crime activity totals on a monthly basis. If a single criminal incident contains a number of violations of the law, only the most serious offence is recorded by the survey.

The "revised" UCR Survey provides detailed information on the characteristics of an incident, and basic data on the persons involved in an incident, both victims and accused. In 1992, fifty-one police forces reported to the revised UCR Survey. These forces accounted for approximately 30% of all criminal incidents reported to the police.

The CCJS completed a special study on motor vehicle theft funded by the Insurance Crime Prevention Bureau of Canada. The purpose of the Motor Vehicle Theft Survey was to provide data on the conditions surrounding motor vehicle theft. Twenty-six large police forces across Canada were requested to complete a form for each motor vehicle stolen during the months of July, August and September 1991.



vehicle or vandalism was cleared otherwise (4% and 3%, respectively), the primary reason given was that the accused was already involved in other criminal incidents.

Most accused charged with motor vehicle crimes aged 25 and under

The vast majority of motor vehicle crimes in which charges are laid, are committed by young men. Youths aged 12-17 represented nearly one-half of those charged with motor vehicle theft and one-third of thefts from motor vehicles and vandalism. People aged 18-25 accounted for 35% of those charged with motor vehicle theft, 44% of thefts from motor vehicles and 32% of vehicle vandalisms.

Most of those accused of a motor vehicle crime who were cleared otherwise were under age 18. In 1992, 40% of all motor vehicle vandalisms cleared otherwise involved accused who were aged 12-17, while 18% involved accused who were under age 12. These figures may indicate that young offenders involved in motor vehicle crimes are dealt with through avenues other than the formal criminal justice system. For example, the accused's parents may be informed or the accused may be warned or asked to pay restitution for damages. Because children under age 12 cannot be charged, the cleared otherwise category is the only mechanism to measure the criminal activity of this group.

Police and community reactions to motor vehicle crimes

Attempts to reduce the conditions that produce crime are an important part of modern crime prevention. Law enforcement officials and insurance agencies advocate that the best approach to reducing motor vehicle crime is through the co-ordination of educational, enforcement and engineering efforts.

Drivers can also take simple preventative measures to reduce the likelihood of their vehicle being stolen, such as locking vehicle doors, not leaving keys in the ignition or hidden elsewhere in the vehicle, and not leaving registration, licence and proof of insurance in the car. A variety of anti-theft security products are also available, ranging from steering wheel and transmission locks to electronic car alarms.

Most major police forces across Canada have initiated anti-theft programs whereby residents who enrol are given a highly visible sticker to attach to the side or rear window of their car. The sticker alerts patrolling officers to vehicles not usually driven between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m., and authorizes them to stop the vehicle during this period and request identification.

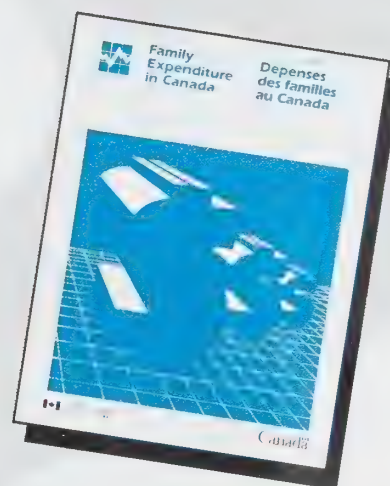
Public assistance in helping police combat crime is often dependant on the level of community awareness. Police forces can use computers and telephone networks to simultaneously inform entire neighbourhoods of increases in criminal activity. This serves not only to heighten public awareness of crime in a specific neighbourhood, but also to enlist the public's help in detecting and reporting suspicious activities to the police.

Peter Morrison is an Editor with *Canadian Social Trends* and **Lucie Ogrodnik** is a senior analyst with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.



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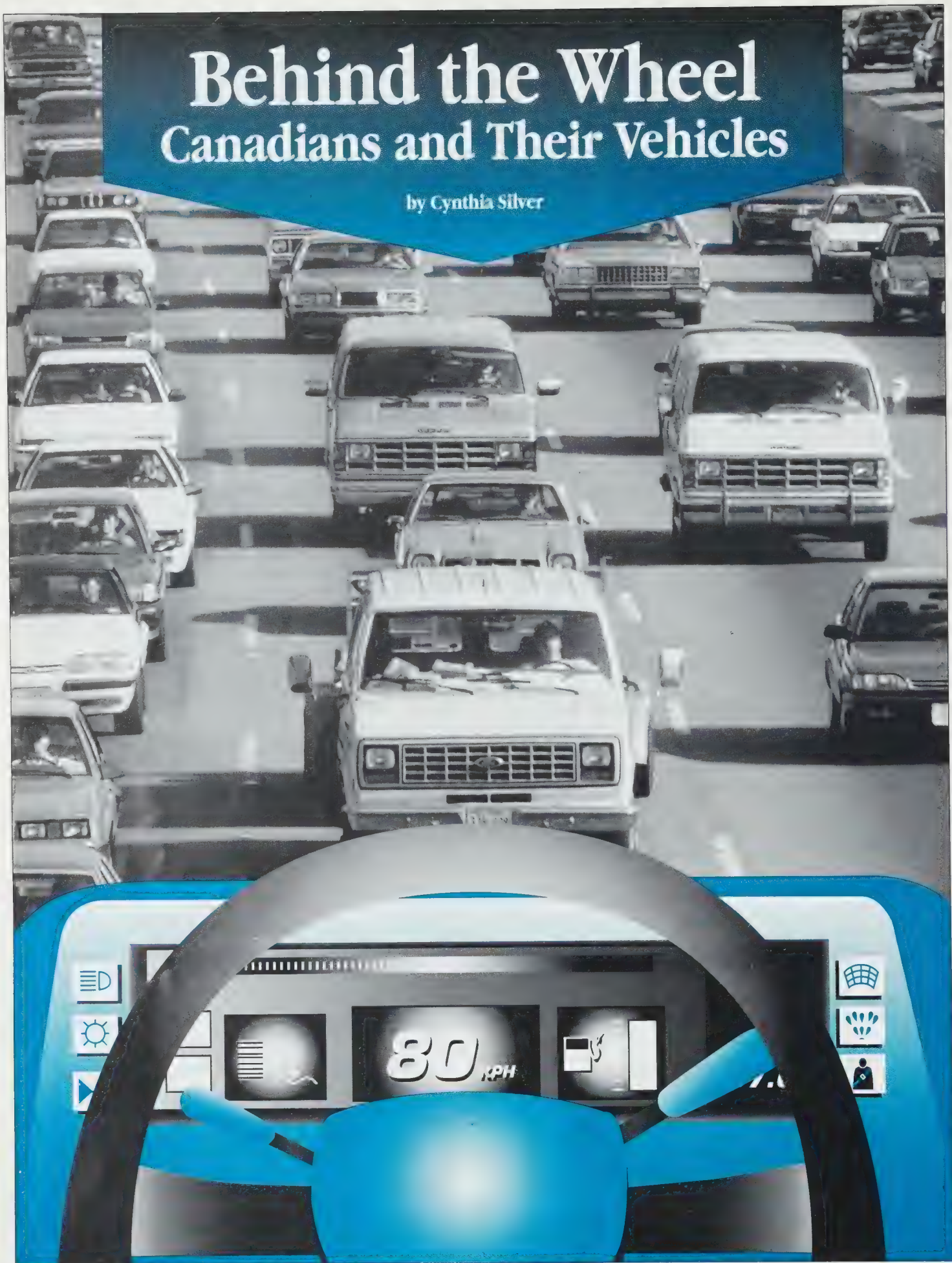
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Behind the Wheel

Canadians and Their Vehicles

by Cynthia Silver



Cars and trucks are the principal methods of transportation in this country, with more than eight-in-ten Canadian households operating a car or truck for personal use. By the end of 1992, households in the ten provinces owned or leased about 13 million vehicles for personal use.¹ Among OECD countries, Canada was second only to the United States in total motor vehicle (personal use and commercial) ownership rates in 1991: 622 vehicles for every 1,000 Canadians, compared with 761 for every 1,000 Americans).

Canadians favour four-door passenger cars North-American cars and trucks dominated Canadian roads. Three-quarters of the vehicles owned or leased by Canadians were built by North-American corporations, 20% were Japanese or other Asian makes, and 5% were European.

In spite of the increasing popularity of the mini-van, Canadians are still more likely to own cars than other types of vehicles. In 1992, 43% of vehicles operated by Canadian households were four-door passenger cars, 27% were two-door passenger cars and 16% were trucks. Vans or mini-vans (7%) and station wagons (5%) made up a smaller portion of the personal fleet.

This distribution of the types of vehicles was similar among family households, although vans and mini-vans accounted for a larger than average share of vehicles operated by couples with children (10%). In contrast, large differences existed in the types of cars and trucks operated by men and women living alone. In 1992, 66% of vehicles operated by men on their own were passenger cars, compared with 91% of those operated by women living alone. Also, among people living alone, 24% of men's vehicles and less than 4% of women's vehicles were trucks.

Fleet of household cars and trucks aging in 1992 Canadians tend to buy a new or used vehicle every four years. In 1992, one-quarter of households (26%) spent an average of \$8,310 on the purchase of a car or truck. This represented the cost of the vehicle after trade-ins or separate sales of other vehicles.

¹ Any owned or leased vehicles used entirely for business were excluded from this survey. The operating expenses were adjusted to exclude any expenses charged to business.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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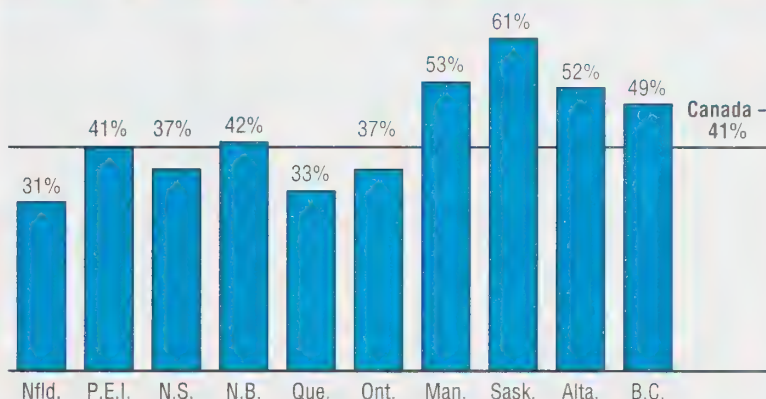
Survey of Family Expenditures

Most of the data used in this article are from the 1992 Survey of Family Expenditures. This survey features detailed information on all aspects of household expenditures, as well as household income and other characteristics. Although Whitehorse and Yellowknife were covered by the survey, the results presented here are based on the responses of about 9,500 households in the ten provinces.

Results from the survey were published in **Family Expenditure in Canada**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 62-555. Most of the information concerning vehicles in this article, however, was derived from unpublished tabulations.

Proportion of households with a 1985 or older model vehicle, by province, 1992

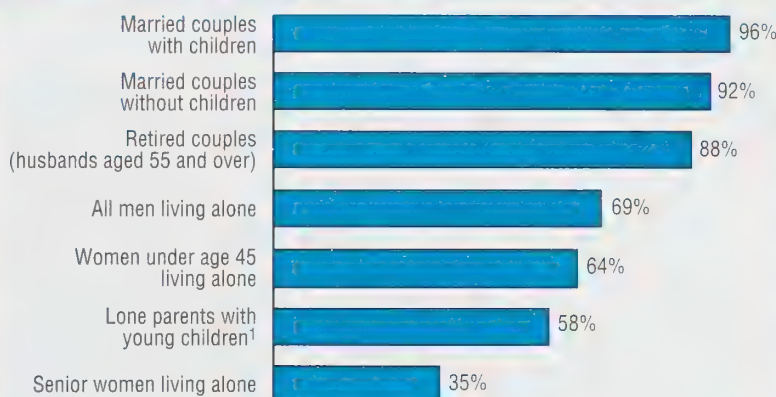
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Source: Statistics Canada, 1992 Survey of Family Expenditures.

Proportion of selected households that owned or leased a vehicle, 1992

CST



¹ With at least one child under age 14.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1992 Survey of Family Expenditures.



Motor vehicle ownership in OECD countries, 1991

CST

Vehicles per 1,000 population

United States	761
Canada	622
Australia	578
New Zealand	543
Italy	535
Iceland	531
West Germany ¹	521
Luxembourg	511
France	502
Switzerland	497
Austria	487
Japan	487
Sweden	469
Norway	465
Finland	441
Belgium	438
Netherlands	411
United Kingdom	405
Spain	390
Denmark	372
East Germany ¹	340
Ireland	304
Greece	260
Portugal	233
Turkey	45

Note: These data include both commercial and personal use vehicles.

¹ Although East and West Germany have been reunited, the vehicle-to-population ratios remain very different and are shown separately.

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD Environmental Data 1993

older model vehicles ranged from 61% in Saskatchewan to 31% in Newfoundland.

Rural households rely heavily on their vehicles In rural areas, where public transportation may be limited and distances between developed areas may be great, almost all households (92%) operated a vehicle in 1992. In contrast, this was the case for just over three-quarters of households in the largest urban areas (those with at least one million people). Of households with vehicles, however, those in rural areas had about the same number of vehicles (1.7) as those in urban areas (1.6). Many aspects of farm life rely on the use of a vehicle, and it is common for rural farm households to operate at least two vehicles for some personal use.

Households in rural areas, especially non-farm households, drive longer distances than urban households. Rural households with cars or trucks drove about 28,000 km in 1992, almost 4,000 more than the national average. This was mainly due to distances driven by rural non-farm households with vehicles. Such households drove an average of almost 29,000 km in 1992. Rural farm households, on the other hand, averaged 23,000 km for personal use, close to the distance travelled by car or truck owners in urban areas (about 23,500 km).

Cars and trucks consumed 11% of household dollars

Canadian households overall spent an average of \$5,200 on private transportation in 1992. This represented 92% of all their transportation expenditures that also included spending on air, rail, bus and urban transit. However, those households that reported expenses for private transportation spent an average of about \$6,000. This included some households without vehicles that spent money on drivers' licenses, tests, lessons or occasional car rentals.

Vehicles most common among couples It appears that the number of people in a household, as well as income and, in some cases, age, influence the likelihood of a household operating a car or truck. More than nine-in-ten couples with or without children owned or leased a vehicle for personal use in 1992. In contrast, about six-in-ten lone mothers and people living alone – many of whom have relatively low incomes – had a car or truck.


About two-thirds (69%) of men living alone owned or leased a vehicle in 1992, a proportion that varied little by age. In contrast, the likelihood of women on their own operating a car or truck declined sharply among senior women. About two-thirds of women under age 65 operated a vehicle in 1992, compared with only one-third of senior women.

It is far more common for men than for women living on their own to drive an older model car or truck. This is particularly the case among those under age 45. In 1992, 49% of all vehicles operated by men under age 45 living alone were 1985 or older models. In contrast, this was the case for only 27% of those operated by women that age on their own. Even among seniors living alone, the vehicles operated by men were more likely to be 1985 or older models (51%) than those driven by women (42%).

Cynthia Silver is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.

More than twice as many households bought used cars (14%) and trucks (5%) as new vehicles (6% and 2%, respectively) in 1992. The impact of the recent recession on the purchase of big-ticket items is also apparent in the distribution of newer cars. In 1992, only 7% of household vehicles were 1992 or 1993 models. Models from 1986 to 1989 were more prevalent, with each year accounting for about 9% of vehicles on the road. This reflects the stronger market for cars between the past two recessions. According to the 1986 Survey of Family Expenditures, almost 10% of vehicles were 1986 or 1987 models. Canadians still appeared to be hesitant about purchasing a new car in 1993. Sales of all new motor vehicles dropped nearly 3% between 1992 and 1993, while new passenger car sales dropped 7%. As is already the case in the United States, however, new automobile sales should rebound in Canada as consumer confidence is renewed.

Overall, in 1992, 41% of all household vehicles were 1985 or older models. Residents of the Western provinces, however, are more likely than those from Ontario to Newfoundland to be driving cars or trucks this old. In 1992, the proportion of 1985 or



SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
POPULATION								
Canada July 1 (000s)	26,203.8 ^F	26,549.7 ^F	26,894.8 ^F	27,379.3 ^F	27,790.6 ^F	28,117.6 ^{PR}	28,435.6 ^{PR}	28,759.0 ^{PP}
Annual growth (%)	1.0 ^{PR}	1.3 ^{PR}	1.3 ^{PR}	1.8 ^{PR}	1.5 ^{PR}	1.2 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PP}
Immigration ¹	88,639 ^F	130,813 ^F	152,413 ^F	178,152 ^F	202,979 ^F	219,250 ^F	239,435 ^F	257,466 ^F
Emigration ¹	50,595 ^F	47,707 ^F	40,978 ^F	40,395 ^F	39,760 ^F	43,392 ^{PR}	48,519 ^{PR}	46,437 ^{PP}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.7	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.1	6.4	*	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	*	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	915	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,531 [*]	11,861 [*]	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383
— goods sector (000s)	3,477	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302
— service sector (000s)	8,054	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082
Total unemployment (000s)	1,115	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562
Unemployment rate (%)	9.5	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2
Part-time employment (%)	15.5	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3
Women's participation rate (%)	55.3	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5
Unionization rate — % of paid workers	34.1	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	36,853	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	*
% of families with low income (1986 Base)	13.6	13.1	12.2	11.1	12.1	13.1	13.3	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.8	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,938.0	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,217.4	5,295.1 ^F	*
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	796.3	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	880.4	917.4	946.3 ^P
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,213	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	*
Government expenditure on education — as a % of GDP	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.6	6.0	*	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease — men	41.4	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	36.9	*
— women	44.3	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.4	*
% of deaths due to cancer — men	26.9	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.4	*
— women	26.5	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.3	*
Government expenditure on health — as a % of GDP	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.3	6.8	*	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) — violent	808	856	898	948	1,013	1,100	1,122	*
— property	5,714	5,731	5,632	5,503	5,841	6,364	6,110	*
— homicide	12	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.7	*
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² — 1991 \$000,000	166,581.0	169,773.5	174,328.5	181,227.0	188,899.1	196,775.1	*	*
— as a % of total expenditures	56.4	56.1	56.3	55.9	56.6	58.5	*	*
— as a % of GDP	26.1	25.5	24.8	25.2	26.7	29.1	*	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,186.7	3,079.9	3,015.4	3,025.2	3,267.0	3,653.0	3,658.0	3,415.5
OAS and OASGIS beneficiaries ³ (000s)	2,650.0	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.5	3,096.5	3,180.0	3,264.1
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ⁴ (000s)	1,892.9	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,232.2	2,723.0	2,975.0
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP 1986 \$ — annual % change	+3.3	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	+0.2	+1.7	+0.7	+2.4
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.0	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	5.5	5.8
Urban housing starts	170,863	215,340	189,636	183,533	150,620	130,294	140,106	129,986

* Not available

* Not available

¹ Preliminary data

² Estimate

³ Figures as of March

⁴ Revised intercensal estimates

⁵ Preliminary postcensal estimates

⁶ Updated postcensal estimates

⁷ Revised data

⁸ Final data

⁹ Year beginning June 30

¹⁰ Includes Protection of Persons and Property, Health, Social Services, Education, Recreation and Culture

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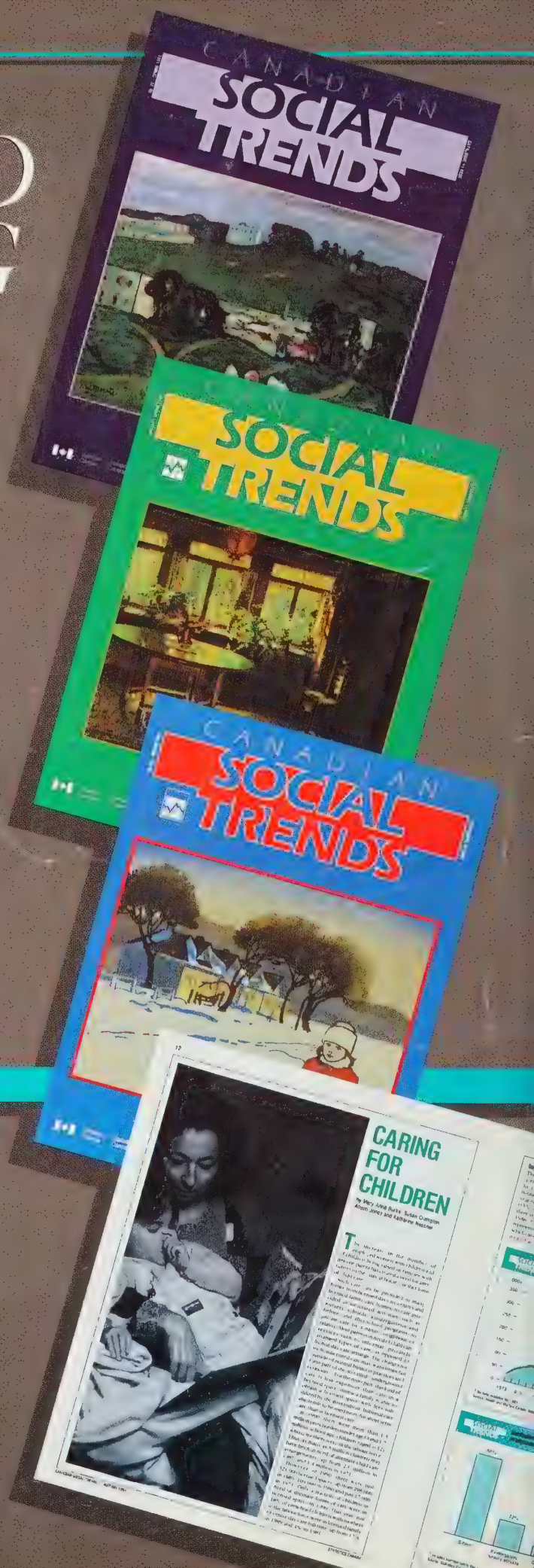
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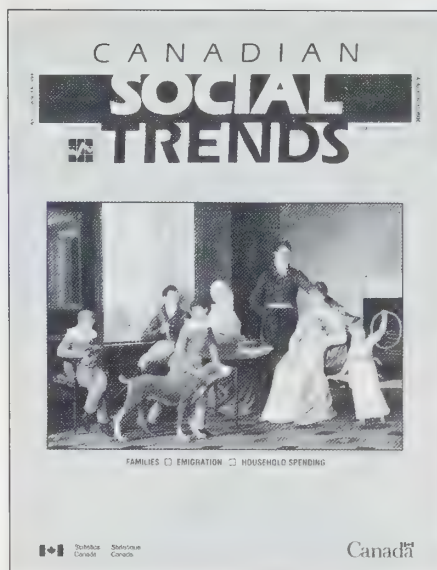
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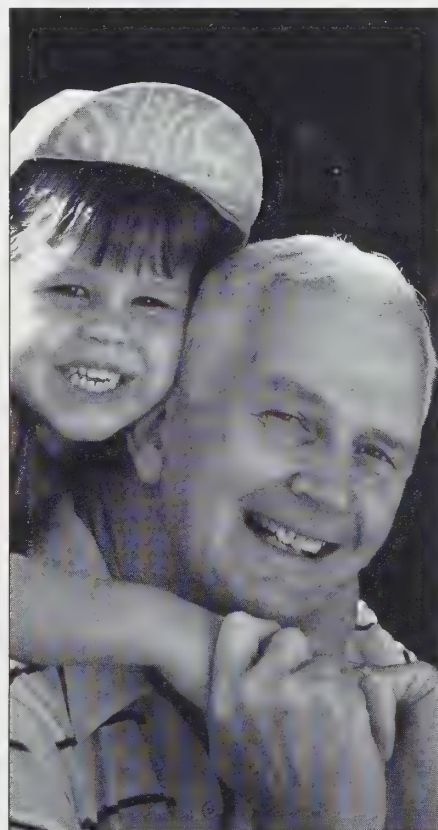
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Cover: The Woolsey Family (1809) oil on canvas, 59.9 x 86.5 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada.

About the artist:

Born in Saxony, **William Von Moll Berczy** (1744-1813) arrived in Upper Canada in 1794. Taking up painting in his later years, he assisted his father, also an artist, with the painting of the **The Woolsey Family**, which was completed in 1809. Mr. Berczy died in 1813 during a journey to New York.



CONTENTS

No. 35 – WINTER 1994

Robert Glossop on the Canadian Family	2
Where does the Money Go? Spending Patterns of Canadian Households, 1969-1992 <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	12
Working Teens	18
Allophone Immigrants: Language Choices in the Home <i>by Éline Fournier</i>	23
A History of Emigration from Canada <i>by Craig McKie</i>	26
Cumulative Index of Articles: Summer 1986 – Winter 1994	30
Social Indicators	35

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Editor-in-Chief	Cynthia Silver
Editors	Jo-Anne Belliveau Jillian Oderkirk
Production Co-ordinator	Cheryl Sarazin
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Robert Glossop on the Canadian Family

On the Occasion of the International Year of the Family



1994 International Year of the Family

Robert Glossop and his colleagues participating in the United Nations' International Year of the Family have chosen to celebrate this special year by highlighting some of the many positive aspects of families and family life. However, Dr. Glossop does acknowledge that family life in Canada and elsewhere has its darker side, such as family violence and abuse, poverty and intergenerational conflict. — Ed.



Robert Glossop has served as the Director of Programs and Research with the Vanier Institute of the Family since 1983, after joining the organization in 1975. Dr. Glossop received his B.A. at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario and his doctorate at the University of Birmingham in England. Through his work, he combines his perspectives as a sociologist and philosopher with his personal interests as a father of two and an active community member. On behalf of the Vanier Institute, he advises a variety of government departments and national organizations on social policy questions. A recurring theme in all his work is the need to understand the rapidly changing social "ecology" in which families live.



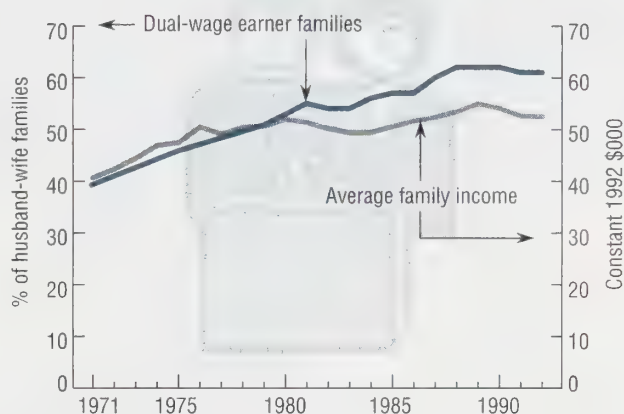
So far, during this International Year of the Family, you've spoken with a great many people about families in Canada. What do you feel Canadians understand by "family"?

To begin with, Canadians continue to report that the most important things in their lives are their families...more important than their political convictions, their religious beliefs, their jobs, their wages. For most Canadians, what I think they have in mind when they talk about family are really relationships in which they understand they are taken care of, and in which they are obliged to take care of others. So there are bonds of affection and obligation that tie people one to another. There are obviously still many Canadians who would choose to define family by reference to marriage or to blood relationships between individuals. But I think people are increasingly adopting a more inclusive definition, focusing more on what families do rather than what they look like.

What do you feel is the most important issue facing Canadian families?

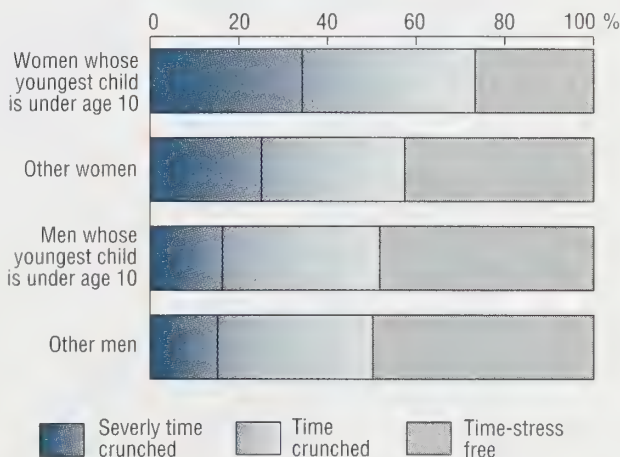
I think the majority of Canadian families feel economically insecure today. Canadians are worried about their own economic security in the short and long term, and also about the economic prospects of their children. Increasingly, we are beginning to understand that it doesn't matter so much whether or not we work hard or are well qualified for our jobs. Instead, we now know that it is decisions taken elsewhere, over which we have very little control, that will define our prospects. The other pressing issue Canadians tell us about is what Statistics Canada has characterized as the "time crunch." Increasingly, families have to devote more hours per week to the labour market just to make ends meet, as more and more families become dual-wage earner families. Ten, fifteen years ago, we were looking for that elusive thing called "quality time." I think that many families today are just exhausted, living with very frenetic schedules and trying to balance the often incompatible and competing demands of their families and workplaces. So, economic insecurity and time, I think, are the most important issues facing today's families.

"Increasingly, families have to devote more hours per week to the labour market just to make ends meet..."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-208.

"...many families today are just exhausted, living with very frenetic schedules..."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 11-008E, No. 31.

The Standard North-American Family (SNAF) is viewed as parents and their dependant children. But you have described today's families as belonging to a gallery of diverse types. How diverse are they?



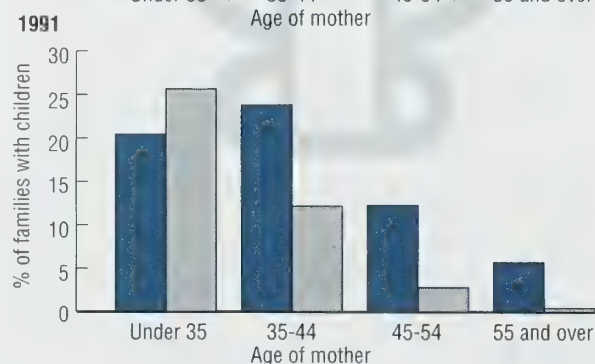
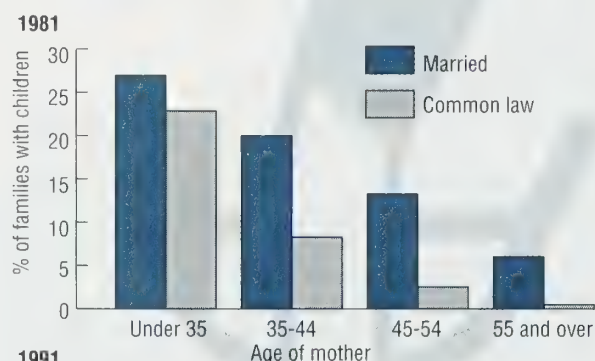
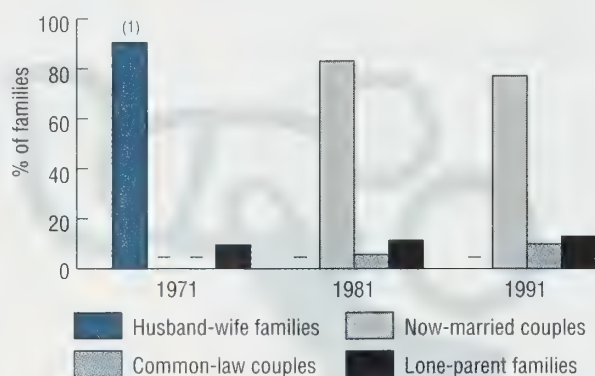
he SNAF category was, just to set this in context, the idea that families should look like the families in the 1950s and early 1960s, the so-called

traditional single-wage earner, nuclear family living in suburbia. We should recognize that this so-called traditional family was not really traditional at all. It was a specific form of family formation and functioning characteristic of only a relatively limited period of time. So it should not be viewed as the model of family formation and functioning against which all departures subsequently observed should be evaluated and assessed.

Families vary according to both form and function. I would argue that we can distinguish different kinds of family by at least five criteria. One would be structure and membership, that is, how people are joined together, how their bonds of affection and obligation are defined and how the characteristics of individual family members differ: are people in a family by virtue of marriage or cohabitation or by virtue of caring for a dependant elder; or is there a child with various gifts or special needs, a member suffering from alcohol or drug dependencies or one whose own family history includes violence? Families also differ by virtue of heritage, that is, the linguistic and cultural background that has informed and shaped their own experience and opinion about family. In addition, they differ depending on where in the life course they happen to be: are there young children or adolescents in the family or have all dependant children left home? Families also vary by virtue of their geographical location: families in an outport in Newfoundland call upon a different sense of community and a very different set of services and supports than do families in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Hamilton, wherever. Finally, families differ in terms of how they divide up the responsibilities for the work associated with family: are the tasks for domestics chores and child care divided equally between men and women; or is the family modelled more after the so-called traditional patriarchal family?

Regardless of how families differ one from another, all families do assume responsibility on behalf of their individual members and on behalf of the larger society to carry out certain essential tasks: production of goods and services, socialization and education...and indeed, at least ideally, families provide a context of love and affection within which people can grow.

"Patterns of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock births are definitely more pronounced among younger age cohorts."



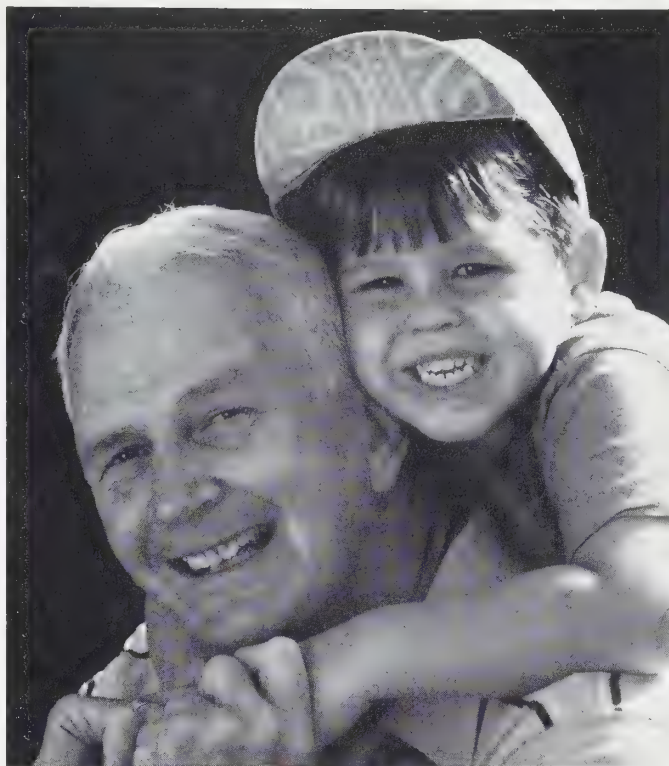
¹ In 1971, husband-wife families included now-married and common-law couples.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 89-516 and 93-320.

More and more children are born and raised outside marriage or experience the breakdown of their parents' marriage. Is this creating a generation gap between young people and the generations who grew up taking traditional families and lifetime marital relations for granted?



Although children are increasingly being born outside marriage, about the same proportion are being born to two parents as was the case throughout the 1950s and 1960s. So it's not the case that the dramatic increase in the number of children born to unmarried women represents a huge increase in the number of children born into a lone-parent family situation. Instead, many are born to two parents who simply are not married, and this observation underscores the need to distinguish between marriage and family.

Patterns of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock births are definitely more pronounced among younger age cohorts. Consequently, we are witnessing an evolution in cultural values where there is a difference between the attitudes, values, expectations and taken-for-granted assumptions of younger people and those of older people. Canadians, many of whom have children, now have relatively higher rates of separation and divorce. That does raise significant questions about the family contexts within which our children are formulating their own ideas about what it means to be in a family...and also often creating very difficult circumstances for these children. The majority of children who experience the separation or divorce of their parents will fall into poverty for a period of time; their peer group relationships are likely to be interrupted as they move from one neighbourhood to another. They will possibly be dealing with ongoing conflict between their parents who are no longer devoted to one another, even though they remain devoted to both. So children, who tend to thrive on predictability and stability in their lives, are often in family situations that are increasingly fluid and unpredictable. That has consequences that we are only beginning to understand through some of the longitudinal research that has been done. We certainly need more of that research – that perhaps indicates the importance of Statistics Canada's recent investment in the design of the Survey of Labour and



Income Dynamics and the work being done in cooperation with others on the National Longitudinal Survey of Children.

One of the main features in the coming years is that the population is aging rapidly. When we talk about families, we really think of parents and children. What is happening with relationships with grandparents and aging parents?



I think your question is really instructive – it reminds us that the way we tend to think about families is by virtue of relationships between adults and young children. That's a very important part of a family's biography, but it doesn't end there. There are relationships of dependence and interdependence that don't have anything to do with children. We are aware of the so-called sandwich generation in which people are simultaneously trying to assume responsibility for dependant children and beginning to deal with how they can care for their aging relatives. So "family," I think, needs to be understood more broadly to encompass relationships of interdependence between generations and between households. We do indeed live in an aging society.

We can look at the lack of success we've had in addressing the child care needs of Canadian families...and we might hope that we could be a little more anticipatory as we confront the challenge of supporting the increasing number of families that will be assuming more and more responsibility for the care of elders.

From some of the recent GSS [General Social Survey] findings, I was struck by the frequency of contact and the nature of the relationships that still exist between grandparents and their grandchildren. It seems that people in Canada are still committing themselves to one another over the generations, which is very important for families. It's a challenge, though, in our society for people to provide tangible support to their aging parents, when, in fact, there is nobody at home any longer during the day to provide care for elders, the sick, the disabled or children. I think there is a limit to what kind of support we can provide to our elders when we are crunched for time to begin with and when we may not be living very close by. I think we have to begin to focus on the profile of care givers in our society a little bit more than we have in the past. And I hope that we will do that by

looking at the entire age spectrum so we can understand who is providing care for whom...and under what circumstances and with what supports from the broader community.

The family has historically filled many functions that in this century have been assumed by various levels of government. How far is this going and in what direction have we been moving lately?

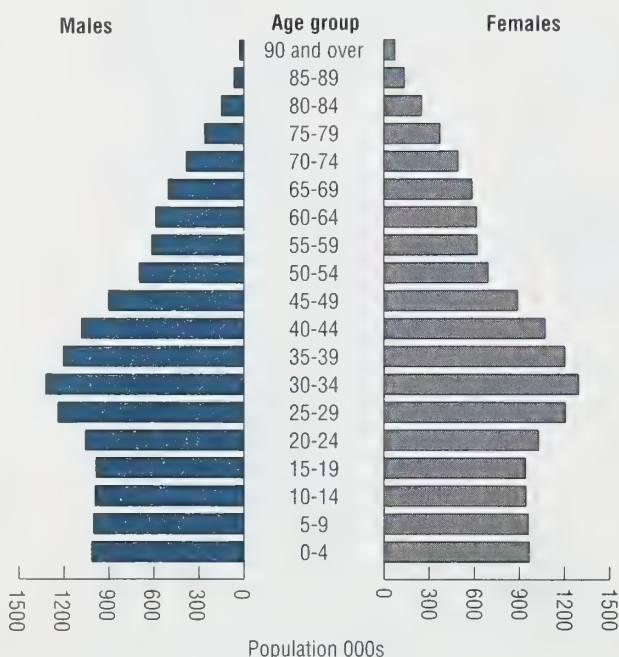


I think it's naive to think that the family was ever really the self-sufficient unit that we have been led to believe it was.

Families have always required support and acknowledgement from their communities, from their larger kinship networks, and indeed, from the state. Margaret Mead said that we are a very peculiar society because we have come to expect an isolated family to carry out the work that in the past would have been assumed by an entire clan or tribe. Most societies knew that raising the next generation was far too important to leave in the hands of two individuals with whatever idiosyncratic beliefs and attitudes they may have. So the notion of family as a self-sufficient, self-reliant enclave, I think, has mislead us in many ways. Families have always been supported and must always be supported by the larger community that surrounds them.

You could say that Canadian families have grown dependant upon the state to provide a number of things to help them do their work. But I don't think that most Canadians would want to characterize their relationship to the publicly-supported health or education system as one of dependency. But clearly these are supports that we have now come to take for granted will be supported through the state – different than in the U.S. where, as we know, a medical emergency can lead to personal bankruptcy and financial ruin for families. So, are we dependant on the state for education and health care? Yes, I suppose we are. Should families assume more of this responsibility? I'm not sure. I think we have, in fact, constructed health and education systems that do provide more equal access and a fairer distribution of health care services and education across the population than would be the case if we were to leave it entirely in the hands of the individual family.

"We do indeed live in an aging society."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-213.

There is another irony, too, which is that we live in increasingly uncertain times, when we, as individuals, can exercise less influence over the decisions that will shape our fate. More and more Canadians seem to be saying, "Just get the state out of this and leave the responsibility with me," as though we could protect ourselves better as individuals than as members of a larger society. I think that's surprising in the present circumstances and also naive in the long run.

I am concerned about what I call the privatisation of family – too often I have been told by people, "Those people had the children, they're their children. So get them off my back as a tax payer." Again, I think that it's short-sighted. First of all, all of us, as tax payers, will grow to be dependant upon the children who are being nurtured by those who have been courageous enough to commit themselves to the next generation...by having them and loving them and providing for them. I also think that providing and caring for children involves a very difficult, expensive, time-consuming and onerous set of tasks...a set of tasks that, quite frankly, has not been valued or appreciated sufficiently by the rest of us. But families cannot be expected to provide – on their own – the fundamental services that will benefit not only individual members, but also society as a whole. Indeed, families are responsible to provide for their members in the best fashion they can. But they can only do so when the labour market generates enough jobs so that people can provide for themselves and their families, or when there is an effective income security system to provide for those temporarily out of work and for older people who cannot find remuneration in the labour market.

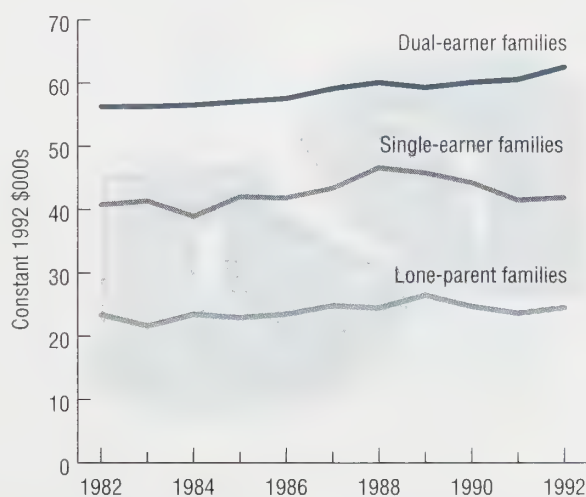
This whole discussion of the cost of raising children and the notion of investment brings up the next issue of real family incomes not having increased over the past fifteen years. Yet many families are working harder than ever before. Can you comment on that?



Well, this is really the big trend. Today, most husband-wife families rely on two wage earners. So you've got this incredible dedication of the family's

time to the labour market in order to make ends meet. Within that statement "real family incomes have not increased over the past fifteen years," there are some finer points that need to be acknowledged. The only families that have stayed even or increased their real incomes have been dual-wage earner families. There has been a deterioration in the purchasing power of single-wage earner families, and most significantly right now, of young families. Young families with heads under the age of 25 have lost dramatically in terms of their purchasing power – raising questions about their entry into the labour market, their long-term security, what kind of occupational trajectories they can anticipate. So the thing I want to do is to acknowledge that within that static picture of real average family incomes, there have been some losers and some winners. That explains the polarization and politicization of families that function differently one from another. That explains how the interests of single-wage earner families are not the same as the interests of dual-wage earners. It explains why the child care issue becomes such a heated topic. The single-wage earner family that has seen its real purchasing power diminish over time, looks at the cost of the publicly-sponsored child-care system and says, "Wait a minute. That is not serving my interests. Why should my taxes go

"The only families that have stayed even or increased their real incomes have been dual-wage earner families."



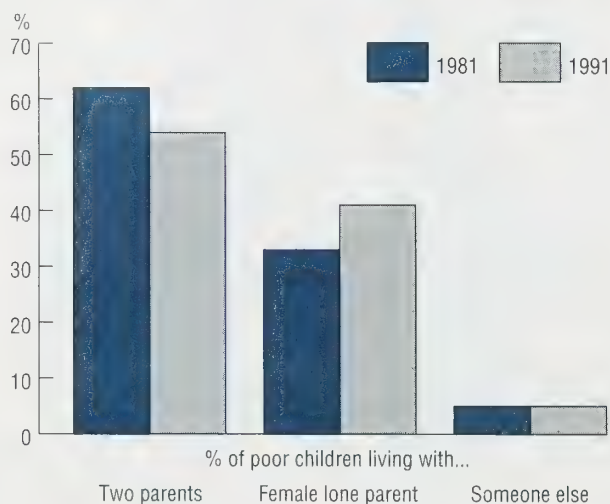
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-208.

to support that public system?" Whereas the dual-wage earner family says, "We are both putting tremendous tax dollars into this economy, which is relying upon my productivity as a woman in the labour market." So those dual-wage earner families say, "There's no free lunch...there's an obligation on the part of the state to support us as we balance our obligations as both employees and family members." What you need to do, from a public policy point of view, is to acknowledge the contributions both kinds of families make and their circumstances, and find appropriate income security and social supports to acknowledge both.

When the economy is based on two incomes per family, we can understand why you have almost two-thirds of female lone-parent families living in poverty. There are lots of other things that help us understand that too – in terms of wage discrimination between men and women and lack of appropriate child care to support the efforts of lone mothers to be in the labour market. It's now increasingly difficult to maintain a household on the basis of one income and a single parent does this by definition.

We already talked about the time crunch. In order to get those average family incomes, we now need two wage earners, and the consequence of that is you've got less time outside the labour market.

"...not all poor children are living in lone-parent families."



Source: The Vanier Institute of the Family, **Profiling Canada's Families, 1994**.

Given this trend that we have seen for fifteen years or so, Canadians have come to the realization that they may not be better off five years from now, or ten years from now. More than 50% of Canadians now do not expect their children to achieve standards of living and economic security equivalent to their own. That's a profound change. That creates all sorts of dynamics – between segments of the labour market and within families – in terms of expectations and ambitions and educational aspirations.

Despite the level of poverty that you say exists among female lone parents, only a minority receive child support and the dependence on transfer payments is increasing. Do you feel that the state is taking over the support responsibilities of absent fathers?



es, and in some cases inevitably so. It's really hard to get a good estimate on what proportion of relief and support orders are in default, but we know that it is really high. We also know that the amount of child support awarded is probably too low. There's a lot of work being done to develop child support guidelines and to get more coherence into the system and create better enforcement mechanisms and so on. All of that is absolutely essential. Fathers must come to understand – or must be obliged to understand – that when a marriage is dissolved, it does not dissolve their familial obligations and responsibilities. At the same time, it costs more money to maintain two households than it does to maintain one. And this is a real dilemma. Consequently, I don't think it's realistic for us as a society to expect that we can deal adequately with the financial and economic consequences of separation and divorce, as though these consequences are nothing but private responsibilities. In fact, there are positive economic consequences that come from marriage that are experienced by the larger society. Probably, the larger society has to assume some of the responsibility and jeopardy of what happens when marriages dissolve.

It's a set of issues that will be resolved only when men do understand their obligation and are willing to assume that responsibility. But while this is a necessary condition, it is not necessarily a

sufficient condition. The collectivity of the state and of society are going to have to acknowledge that this is going to cost money...that high rates of separation and divorce do represent a burden on the budget.

*Would you expand on the quote from the Vanier Institute's **Profiling Canada's Families** "Most children living in single-parent families are poor, but most poor children live in two-parent families."*

That's an important statement and that's one that we put into our publication simply to remind people that not all poor children are living in lone-parent families. An awful lot of people figure the only reason that we face the tragedy of childhood poverty is because we have so many lone-parent families. Lone mothers are 5 to 6 times more likely to be living in poverty than are mothers raising their children with a partner. But because lone-parent families represent about 13% of families and about 20% of families raising children, you are still dealing with a minority of families. The majority of poor kids are, in fact, living with poor mothers and dads. That means the question of how you deal with childhood poverty is not confined only to questions of absent fathers and support payment enforcement procedures. It raises questions about the working poor, about good jobs and bad jobs, and about minimum wages, which have decreased dramatically in their real purchasing power in the last fifteen years. It also raises questions about the tax treatment of low- and modest-income families. The real reason for the quote was to point out that although we need to address childhood poverty in the context of lone-parent families, that's not going to resolve the question of childhood poverty or food banks in Canada. If you're going to resolve the questions of childhood poverty generally, you are going to need income security for families in general, within which you then have special targeted provisions for lone-parent families. It was basically an attempt to challenge some of the myths that have grown up around families. And this was one – that most poor kids are growing up with single moms is simply not the case.

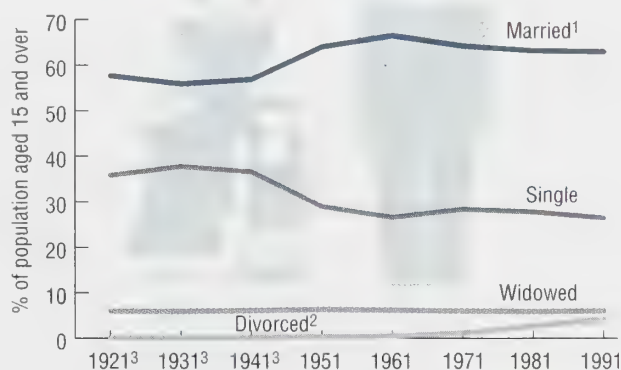
The blended family was once a common occurrence resulting from the remarriage of widows and widowers. It has re-emerged as a result of divorce. What is new about these families?



I guess the quickest observation is that these families are likely to exist beside another blended family which was formed when the former spouse remarried. Blended families today are usually made up of younger people with younger children. The kids are possibly moving back and forth and there will be divided allegiances between these different blended families.

The other thing is that there has never really been a script for stepmothers and stepfathers, other than the nasty stories about Cinderella's stepmother and other similar images. Now, because it is so frequent, we are trying to define these roles. What does it mean to be a stepmother, stepfather, stepsibling, half-sibling and so on? It's another one of those examples of our need to consciously define the kind of family we are creating. What binds a child in a blended family to his stepfather is not the same as what binds a child in another family to his or her biological father. Upon reflection, all these patterns of relationship can be the occasion for

"...the stepfamily in the past wasn't surrounded by all these "ex"-relationships..."



¹ Married includes separated and common law after 1921.

² Divorced included separated in 1921.

³ Canada totals do not include Newfoundland until 1951.

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-310.

various kinds of emotional and behavioural problems that can lead people to a family counsellor. Whereas the stepfamily in the past wasn't surrounded by all these "ex"-relationships, today's blended families often involve ex-husbands and wives, and their new mates.

Statistics Canada is the leading source of data on families in Canada. Are you satisfied with what's available or do you think that Statistics Canada should take new approaches to exploring current family relations?



I'm very dependant on Statistics Canada data...but because of some of the changes we have been talking about, there are new questions to be asked. I know that there are people at Statistics Canada dealing with them, trying to answer them. But perhaps I could offer some ideas about the type of questions I would like to see addressed. The question about the value of unpaid labour is a tricky but important question. Time use – as the primary method of understanding the nature of this contribution – is terribly important. Also, we definitely need to be able to trace, over time, the relationships between individuals in the context of their households. We do need accurate information about the relationship between adults in families and how these relationships

change over time. We need to know how they are related to the children in their care. Are there half-siblings, stepsiblings and so on? Even though we do know quite a bit about families and what they look like, we need to know more about what it is that binds members of households to other people to whom they are committed as family. And this will become more important as we increasingly worry about dependency and interdependency relationships, and how these are acknowledged and valued in public policy.

On the light side, what, if anything, has surprised you most about the family in Canada?

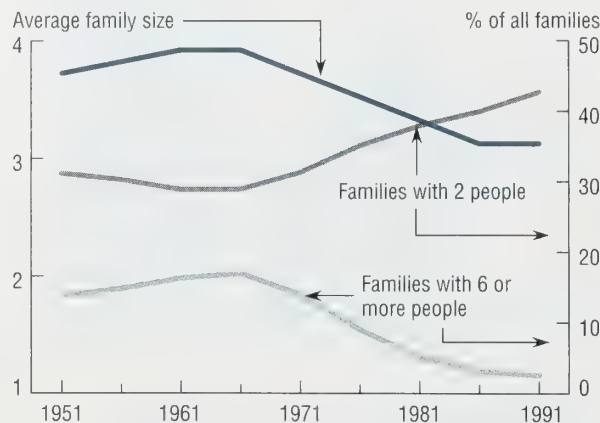


From Statistics Canada, what struck me as most curious was that people still seem to live close to other family members, despite our high rates of geographic mobility...and that they have fairly regular contact with one another.

From going around the country and talking to people, what I have found is that people are very quick to point to a crisis in the family and to argue that nobody cares about the family anymore. But when asked about their own family, they suggest that it is still the core of their being, the core of their existence. So there seems to be something out of sync. There is a curious sense among Canadians...they believe that they are doing OK and have their own family commitments well defined, but they are sceptical about the commitments and values of others.

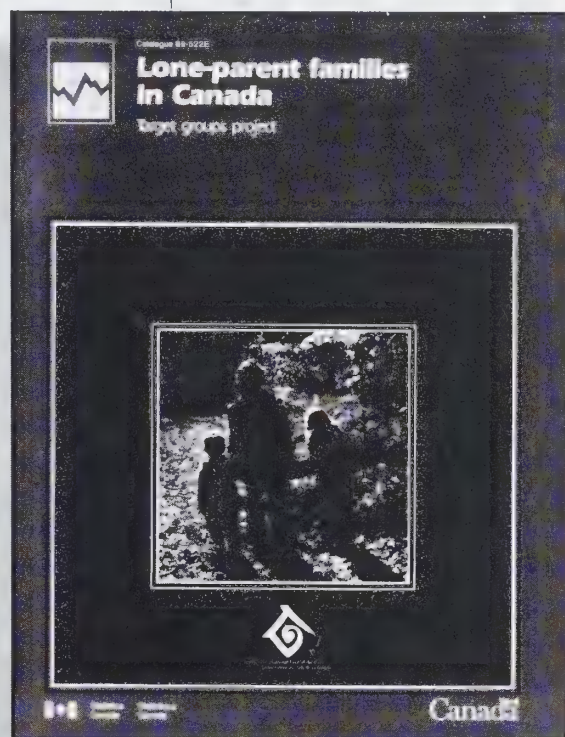
Here is perhaps the most welcome surprise: despite the diversity in the patterns of family formation and function, it is possible to define the common aspirations, common needs and common obligations of Canada's families. It doesn't take long when you get a group of people from different circumstances in a room, for them to come to appreciate and understand that what is at issue for them as individuals is at issue for most others. We are increasingly going to have to acknowledge diversity and understand it better. But equally, we need to understand the common elements and aspects that cut across the different patterns of family formation and function...if we are going to, in fact, learn how to deal constructively with that diversity and lend support to Canada's families.

"But when asked about their family, they suggest that it is still the core of their being, the core of their existence."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-516 and Census of Canada.

Lone-parent families in Canada



Life in lone-parent families

The structure of family living in Canada has changed dramatically in the last several decades. The growing number of lone-parent families has been one of the most profound developments. In fact, by 1991, there were almost one million lone-parent families, representing one of every five families with children. As well, women make up the vast majority of lone parents.

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- time use patterns
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Where Does the Money Go?



Spending Patterns of Canadian Households, 1969-1992

by Cynthia Silver

Since the mid-1970s, real household incomes have remained relatively constant, notwithstanding a substantial increase in the number of dual-earner families. Over the same period, gradual shifts in spending patterns have occurred. Taxes are making a bigger dent in household budgets, while shelter, food, transportation and clothing expenses combined are taking a smaller portion. Households have also responded to periodic booms and recessions by spending more on discretionary items during the good times or deferring the purchases of large expensive items during hard times. Even slight differences in spending, however, can have a major impact on the economy. For instance, in 1992, a one percentage point change in household expenditures represented \$4.4 billion.

Major social and demographic shifts have occurred, affecting consumers' needs, tastes and spending patterns. Families are smaller and more women work outside the home. Baby boomers, by virtue of their large numbers, have had a tremendous influence on spending trends, as their needs shifted from those of teenagers and young adults to those of people in the middle of their working and family-raising years. In addition, seniors are living longer and are better off financially than in the past, allowing them more active retirement years. Changes in our technical and physical environment have also influenced spending patterns as illustrated by the tripling of household expenditures on computer equipment and supplies between 1986 and 1992.

Personal income taxes take a larger slice Real household incomes were almost the same in 1992 as in the late 1970s, although there were some fluctuations throughout the 1980s. Personal income taxes,¹ however, averaging \$9,070 in 1992, rose steadily to 20% of total household expenditures from under 13% in 1969. This resulted in a smaller

proportion being left for other household expenses.

Taxes are graduated such that those with lower incomes pay proportionately less tax than those in middle- or high-income brackets. In 1992, personal taxes accounted for only 4% of total expenditures for the one-fifth of households with the lowest incomes. The proportion rose to 17% among the three-fifths of households in the

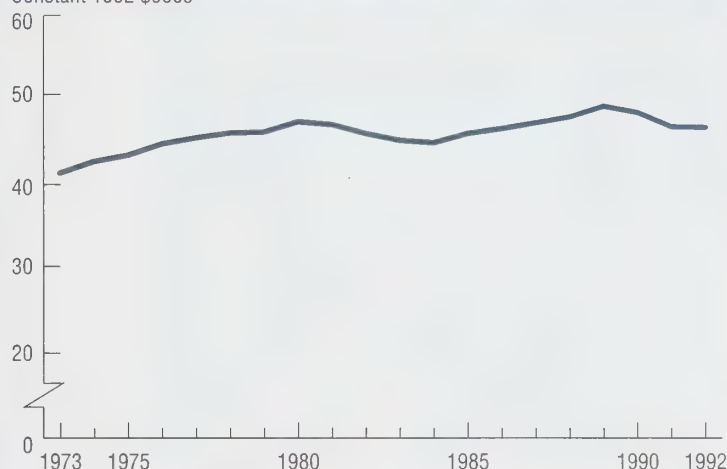
middle-income groups, and 29% among the one-fifth of households with high incomes.

Canadians spending proportionately more to keep a roof over their heads... Spending on all aspects of shelter – including rent, mortgage interest,² repairs, utilities, property taxes and insurance, as well as vacation homes and travel accommodation – increased to 22%

Average household income has levelled off

CST

Constant 1992 \$000s

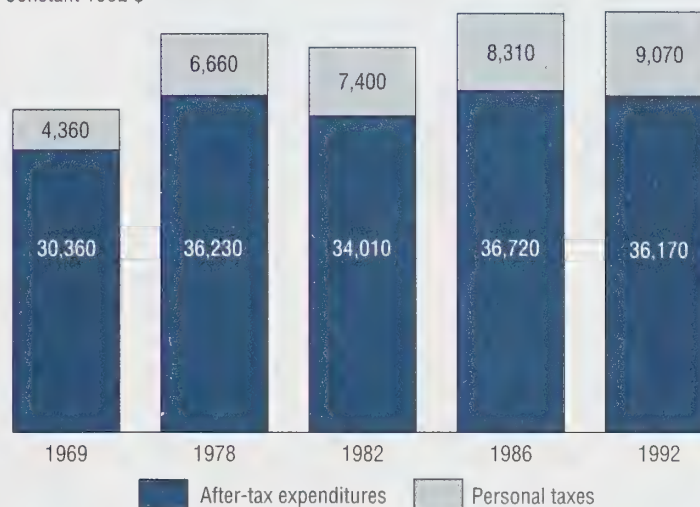


Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Consumer Finance.

Personal taxes account for an increasing share of household expenditures

CST

Constant 1992 \$



Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Family Expenditures.

¹ To allow a comparison between 1969 and 1992, the 1986 definition of personal taxes was used in this article. Using the 1992 definition, personal taxes averaged \$9,380 per household. Provincial and federal sales taxes are not included in personal taxes, but rather in expenditures on goods and services.

² The amount paid on the principal of a mortgage is not included in shelter costs because it is considered a form of investment.



(\$8,100) of after-tax expenditures in 1992 from 18% in 1969. This is, in part, because more Canadians owned their homes in 1992 (63%) than in 1969 (59%) and home owners tend to spend more on shelter than do renters. Mortgage interest payments have also contributed to the increase in the proportion of expenditures on shelter. These doubled to 5% of after-tax household expenditures in 1992 from 2.5% in 1969.

Among homeowners, those with a mortgage spent more than twice as much on shelter in 1992 (\$11,690) as those who were mortgage free (\$5,540). Households with a mortgage spent 25% of their after-tax expenditures on mortgage interest, repairs, utilities, property taxes and the like. In contrast, 16% of the after-tax expenses of mortgage-free households went toward shelter.

Households that paid rent during all of 1992 spent about the same proportion of their after-tax budget on shelter (26%) as did homeowners with a mortgage. Their costs, however, were much less, averaging \$6,980 in 1992.

...but less on furnishing their homes Spending on household furnishings and equipment, including items ranging from home freezers to towels, accounted for 3.8% (\$1,370) of after-tax expenditures in 1992, lower than the 1969 proportion of 4.7%. People tend to buy more furniture and appliances when they move into a new home. Not surprisingly, in 1978, when many baby boomers were forming their own households, the proportion of the after-tax budget spent on furnishings reached a high of 5.2%.

More spent on keeping the home running Expenses for telephones, child care, pets, cleaning and maintaining the home and garden make up the bulk of the remaining costs associated with operating a household. Such costs rose to 5.5% (\$1,970) of after-tax expenditures in 1992 from 4.3% in 1969. Telephone services accounted for 1.7% of household spending in 1992, compared with 1.2% in 1969. While the amount allotted to basic telephone charges dropped over this period, the proportion spent on long distance services doubled. Spending on child care services, such as babysitting and day care, doubled between 1969 and 1992. Expenditures on pets also doubled over that period. Averaged over all households, each of these expenditures accounted for less than 1% of after-tax spending.

Food expenditures take a smaller bite In 1969, food expenses made up the largest share of the budget. By 1982, spending on food, including store-bought food and restaurant meals, had slipped to second place behind expenditures on shelter, and has remained there ever since. Canadian households spent 16% of their after-tax budget on food in 1992 (an average of \$5,690), a proportion that had dropped steadily from 22% in 1969. The decline in household size over this period (to 2.6 people from 3.3) contributed to the smaller proportion of the budget going for food.

Food expenditures were proportionately lower only because the share for food bought from stores had declined. This proportion dropped to 12% (an average of \$4,240) of the after-tax household budget in 1992 from 18% in 1969. Spending on restaurant meals, on the other hand, was slightly higher in 1992 (4.0%) than in 1969 (3.4%). Canadian households were allocating more of their after-tax budget to eating out in 1986 (4.3%). Since then, however, many people may have reduced their restaurant expenses in order to meet less discretionary financial commitments.

Transportation expenses roll with the times Expenditures on transportation were somewhat higher in 1992 than in 1969, having risen to 16% from 14% of the after-tax household budget. In 1992, households spent an average of \$5,640 on bus, train and air fares, as well as on the purchase and operation of cars and trucks for personal use.

Factors such as consumer confidence in the economy and prevailing interest rates influenced expenditures, especially those on vehicles. In 1986, during an economic recovery, purchases of

cars and trucks reached a high of 6.8% of after-tax expenditures, compared with 5.9% in 1992.

Canadians spending more on recreation equipment... Spending on equipment and supplies for sport and fitness, hobbies, music, entertainment, toys and recreation vehicles (including bicycles, motor homes and motorcycles) has increased since 1969. By 1992, such expenditures accounted for 6.4% (\$2,300) of the after-tax household budget, up from 4.7% in 1969.

There has always been demand for some new home entertainment item, be it a colour television, a component stereo or, more recently, a CD player or a VCR. However, home entertainment expenses, averaging \$490 in 1992, represented the same proportion of after-tax expenditures as they did in 1969 (1.4%). Although people are buying more equipment now than in the past, the cost of these electronic goods has not increased as much as that of other goods. In 1992, prices for home entertainment equipment were

only about one and a half times higher than in 1969, while overall prices³ were more than four times higher.

Expenditures on other recreation equipment and on recreation vehicles rose to 2.7% in 1992 (\$970) from 2.0% of spending in 1969. Personal computers, which are relatively new to the household market, accounted for the larger share of the household budget being spent on recreation equipment. Purchases of computer equipment and supplies averaged \$130 per household in 1992.

...as well as recreation services

Recreation services, such as spectator sports, recreation facilities, concerts, movies, cablevision and packaged travel tours, have also claimed an increased share of the household budget. Households spent 2.3% (\$840) of their after-tax expenditures on these items in 1992, compared with 1.3% in 1969.

Spending on spectator sports accounted for the largest share of after-tax expenditures (0.9%) on recreational services. Although this had risen from 0.6% in 1969,

increases were much greater for proportions spent on recreation facilities such as sports facilities, health clubs, admission to museums and exhibitions, and packaged travel tours. Canadians spent proportionately more than twice as much of their after-tax household budget on recreation facilities in 1992 (0.7%) as in 1969 (0.3%). Similarly, twice as much went toward packaged travel tours in 1992 (0.6%) as in 1969 (0.3%). In 1992, these tours were most popular in households where both husband and wife worked full-time.

Personal appearance easier on the budget

The cost of buying, making and maintaining clothing averaged \$2,220 per household in 1992. Conventionally a means of displaying one's social position, clothing took a much smaller portion of average after-tax household expenditures in 1992 (6.1%) than in 1969 (10.1%). The decline is due, in part, to households being smaller with fewer children to clothe. In addition, the cost of clothing did not inflate at the same rate as other commodities: clothing prices tripled between 1969 and 1992, while overall prices more than quadrupled.

Personal care expenses on everything from soap and eye shadow to electric razors and haircuts cost Canadian households \$840, on average, in 1992. Spending on personal care has remained quite stable since 1969 and accounted for roughly 2.3% of after-tax expenditures in 1992.

Health care expenses largely covered by insurance plans

Out-of-pocket health care expenses averaged \$870 in 1992, and had dropped to 2% of after-tax household expenditures from 4% in 1969. This drop was largely due to the introduction of provincial health care plans paid for through taxes. Part of the increase in personal taxes from 13% in 1969 to 16% in 1978 was to pay for such programs.

More recently, regulations against extra billing and the elimination of premiums for provincial plans have further reduced out-of-pocket health care expenses. Employer-funded plans and other types of funding for supplementary medical insurance, dental plans and drug plans have grown. As a result, individuals bore

Distribution of total household expenditures after personal taxes

CST

	1969	1978	1982	1986	1992
	%				
Shelter	18.1	19.5	21.3	19.8	22.4
Food	21.6	20.2	18.6	17.5	15.7
Transportation	14.3	15.3	14.7	16.2	15.6
Recreation	4.7	6.0	5.7	6.2	6.4
Security premiums	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.5	6.3
Clothing	10.1	8.6	7.4	7.7	6.1
Household operation	4.3	4.6	5.3	5.3	5.5
Gifts and contributions	3.1	3.0	3.6	3.9	4.0
Tobacco and alcohol	4.4	3.9	4.0	3.9	3.9
Furniture and equipment	4.7	5.2	4.4	4.5	3.8
Health care	3.9	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4
Personal care	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.3
Education	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.2
Reading	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Miscellaneous	1.8	2.9	3.6	3.1	3.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Family Expenditures.

³ The All-item Consumer Price Index used to measure inflation.

proportionately lower costs in 1992, both for direct cost medical bills (1.7%, compared with 2.4% in 1969) and for insurance (0.8% versus 1.5%).

Smoking and drinking claim smaller share of budget

Following a drop between 1969 and 1978, tobacco and alcohol expenditures have since been relatively stable at about 4% of the after-tax household budget. In 1992, Canadian households spent an average of \$1,410 on tobacco and alcohol.

Smoking accounted for 2.3% of average after-tax expenditures both in 1969 and 1992. This stability, however, belies changes in tobacco sales and use. Although smoking is now less prevalent than in the past, cigarette prices were much higher in 1992 than in 1969. Household spending on alcoholic beverages, on the other hand, dropped throughout the last decade to 1.7% of after-tax household expenditures in 1992 from 2.4% in 1982. The decline is likely related not only to the promotion of health and safety concerns, but also to the increasing number of older people who tend to spend less on alcohol.

Credit charges up Consumers in the 1990s have more debts and use more credit than they did in the 1960s. Consequently, interest payments for consumer credit (excluding mortgages) have become a larger portion of the household budget: 1.3% in 1992, compared with only 0.5% in 1969. Canadian households spent as much on interest payments in 1992 as they did in 1982. However, the Bank of Canada rate in 1992 was half of what it was in 1982 when at its peak. In real dollars, people were borrowing more in 1992.

Canadians are spending more on their financial security. Household payments

on unemployment and life insurance, as well as on pension and retirement funds, had grown to 6.3% (\$2,290) of after-tax spending in 1992 from 5.0% in 1969. The one-fifth of households with the highest incomes spent a much larger proportion

compared with 0.7% in 1969. Child support payments are included in these expenditures and have contributed to the increase in money transfers between households.

Charitable organizations, on the other hand, received about the same proportion of the after-tax household budget in 1992 (1.0%) as in 1969 (1.1%). The share going to religious organizations had dropped slightly, however, to 0.7% of after-tax household expenditures in 1992 from 0.9% in 1969.

Expect change

Many things influence how people spend, such as variable economic conditions, shifts in the age of the population, changes in family structures and roles, technological advancement, and changes in beliefs and attitudes. Over the next twenty-five years,

further shifts in consumer spending will inevitably occur as large numbers of baby boomers retire and become active seniors. Rapid advances in technology and communication will also continue to have an impact on the spending practices of Canadians. While the effect of some of these factors can be anticipated, the nature and impact of other influences on Canadians' spending patterns are almost impossible to predict.

Cynthia Silver is the Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.



(8%) of their after-tax budget on security. This dropped to 6% for those in the middle-income range and only 1% for the one-fifth with the lowest incomes.

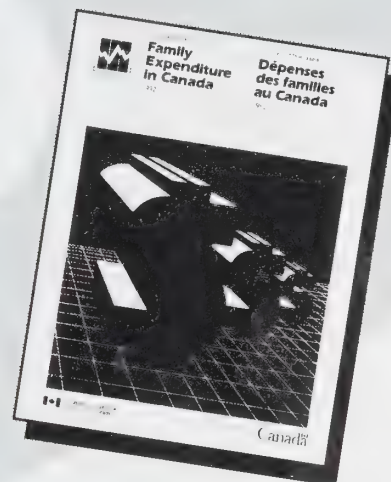
Part of the reason for the increase in financial security spending was that more women entered the labour force in the past twenty-five years. Consequently, the number of people eligible to pay premiums, many of whom are in young, dual-earner households, increased. The proportion of households reporting expenditures on security, however, dropped between 1969 and 1992. This is consistent with the aging of the population: as older people, mainly men from single-earner households, retired during this period, they stopped paying premiums and began receiving income security benefits.

More money being given to other households

In 1992, Canadian households gave 1.9% (\$700) of their after-tax dollars to another household,

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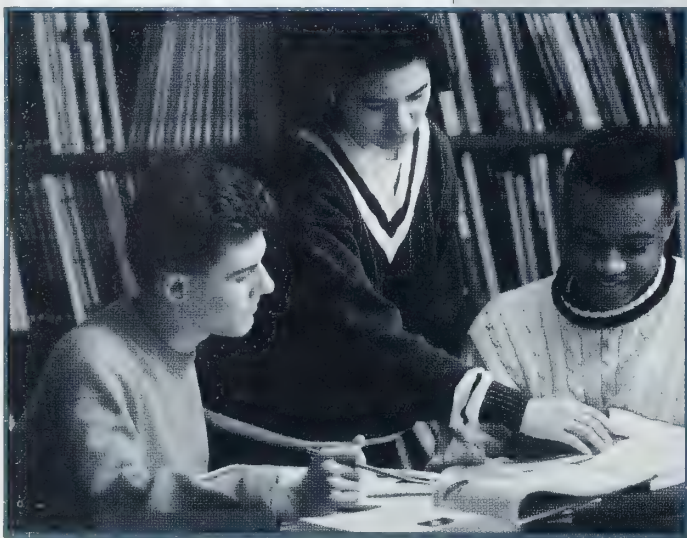
Canada

Working Teens

Although most young people in their late teens live with their parents and are still in school, many are also working and learning about the inherent responsibilities and rewards of paid employment. The majority of employed teenagers aged 15-19 work part-time – either during the school year or the summer – in low-paying jobs that require little formal education.

Despite ongoing controversy about the effects of employment during the school year, working a moderate number of hours while still in school appears to be beneficial to young people. High school graduates, for example, are much more likely than dropouts to have had a job at which they worked less than 20 hours per week while in school. In contrast, compared to graduates, male dropouts were more likely to have worked long hours while in school, and female dropouts were much more likely not to have had a job.

Young workers are especially vulnerable to downturns in the economy and are often among the first to lose their jobs. Because most teens are living at home, the immediate consequences of not having a job tend to be less severe than for older Canadians. However, in a labour market that may continue to be tight until baby boomers begin retiring, people with limited or no employment experience as a teenager may be at a disadvantage.





40% of teens have jobs Not surprisingly, young people are not as likely as older Canadians to have paid work. In 1993, 40% of both male and female teenagers aged 15-19 (724,000 people) had jobs, compared with 64% of people aged 20-24 and 75% of those aged 25-54. The annual employment rate of teenagers, however, reflects much higher employment levels during the summer than during the school year.

In addition, employment levels among teens have varied more than among older people since the 1970s. In 1970, 36% of young people aged 15-19 had jobs. By 1981, the proportion had risen to 47%, but declined to 40% during the recession of the early 1980s. After 1983, employment levels increased, reaching 51% by 1989. Because of the onset of the most recent recession, such high levels were short-lived, and

by 1993, the proportion of employed teenagers had dropped back to 40%.

As is the case for Canadians overall, young people in the Western provinces and Ontario are more likely to be employed than are those in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward Island. In 1993, the proportion of people aged 15-19 with jobs ranged from 48% in Alberta to 19% in Newfoundland.

Economic changes have greatest impact on teen employment rate

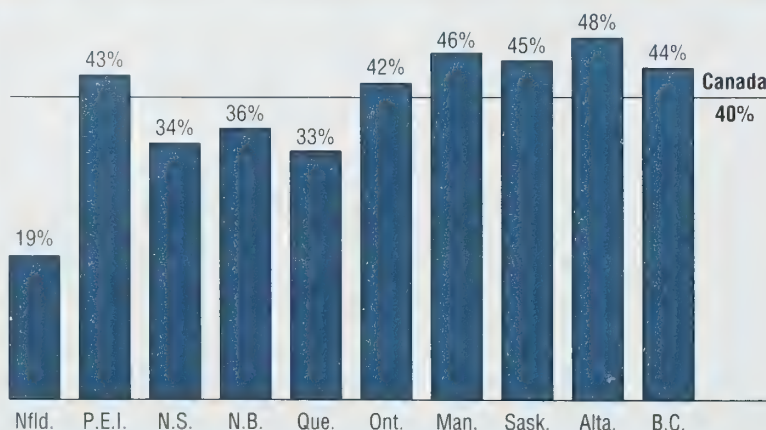
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Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-201.

Teen employment rate highest in Western Canada in 1993

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-220.

Almost three-quarters of employed teens work part-time

Given that many teenagers are still in school full-time, it is not surprising that they are more likely than older Canadians to be working only part-time. In 1993, 72% of employed young people aged 15-19 had part-time jobs, compared with 26% of workers aged 20-24 and only 12% of those aged 25-54. Consequently, that year, teens made up a much larger proportion of people working part-time (24%) than of those working full-time (2%).

According to Statistics Canada's Labour Market Activity Survey, the number of hours worked by teenagers increased substantially during the late 1980s. Working teens aged 16, for example, spent an average of 834 hours at their job in 1990, up from 440 in 1986. Among workers aged 17-19, average annual hours increased to 1,180 from 792 over the same period. In contrast, older Canadians' working hours changed only slightly during the late 1980s, averaging 1,648 in 1990.

Teenagers have very different reasons for working part-time than do older Canadians. Among those working part-time in 1993, teens aged 15-19 most commonly stated that they were doing so because they were going to school (74%), whereas people aged 20 and over were most likely to have said that they could only find part-time work (41%). Nonetheless, many young people (19%) were working part-time because it was the only type of employment they could find.

One-third of students combine school and work

Young people no longer in school are more likely than those in school to have a job. Nonetheless, in 1993, 33% of full-time students aged 15-19 worked during the school year.¹ Students this age were even more likely to have summer jobs: 45% of those planning to

return to school in the fall had jobs between May and August, as did 56% of those not planning to return to school or who were uncertain of their plans.

As was the case overall, employment prospects for students improved after the recession of the early 1980s, before deteriorating again in the early 1990s. In 1989, for example, 41% of full-time students aged 15-19 worked during the school year. The summer employment rate for students this age planning to return to school was 57%, while for those not planning to return to school or uncertain of their plans, the rate was 61% in 1989.

Exposure to the job market at an early age may give students experience and skills useful for their future working life. In addition, students working a moderate number of hours are much less likely than others to drop out of school. Among people aged 18-20 who had worked less than 20 hours per week while in school, the drop-out rate was 16% for men and 7% for women. Working long hours had the most detrimental effect on the school outcome of young men: 33% of those who had worked at least 20 hours while in school had dropped out. Among young women, however, drop-out rates were highest (22%) for those who had no job at all while in school.

Some teens drop out of school to work full-time, forfeiting educational opportunities in favour of unskilled or low-skilled, low-paying jobs. While they may initially view their jobs as very lucrative, these young people will likely find future employment prospects severely limited because of their lack of formal education.

Most teens in jobs requiring little education or experience In 1991, over two-thirds of workers aged 15-19 were employed in service (29%), clerical (21%) or sales (19%) occupations, compared with about one-half of workers aged 20-24 and just over one-third of those aged 25 and over. Young workers were also somewhat more likely (7%) than older workers (about 5%) to be employed in primary occupations, such as agriculture, forestry and mining.

Employed teens make up relatively large shares of these four occupational groups. In 1991, 14% of all service workers and 12% of those in sales were aged 15-19. Young people also represented 9% of those in primary occupations and 7% of those in clerical positions.

Not surprisingly, few young people hold jobs requiring a high level of skill or managerial ability. In 1991, just over 1% of workers aged 15-19 were in managerial or administrative occupations, and they accounted for less than 1% of all workers in such positions. Similarly, workers aged 15-19 represented less than 2% of people in professional occupations. Most young people in jobs classified as professional were nurses' aides or orderlies.

As is the case for older women, female workers aged 15-19 are much more likely than their male counterparts to be employed in service, clerical or sales occupations. Of all young workers aged 15-19 in 1991, 84% of women were in such jobs, compared with 57% of men. In contrast, young men were considerably more likely (16%) than young women (4%) to be employed in primary or construction occupations.

Low earnings among teens a result of the nature of their jobs

Given young people's limited education and work experience, their concentration in part-time jobs and the type of employment available to them, it is likely that many are in minimum-wage jobs. Consequently, their earnings are considerably lower than

those of older workers, regardless of whether they are working part- or full-time.

Among people aged 15-19 who worked part-time in 1992, the average earnings of young men (\$3,660) and young women (\$3,520) were similar. Overall, among those employed part-time, men averaged \$12,150 in earnings, compared with \$9,300 for women. Earnings were also low among the relatively few teenaged men who had full-time jobs in 1992²: \$14,840, compared with \$39,470 for men overall employed full-time.

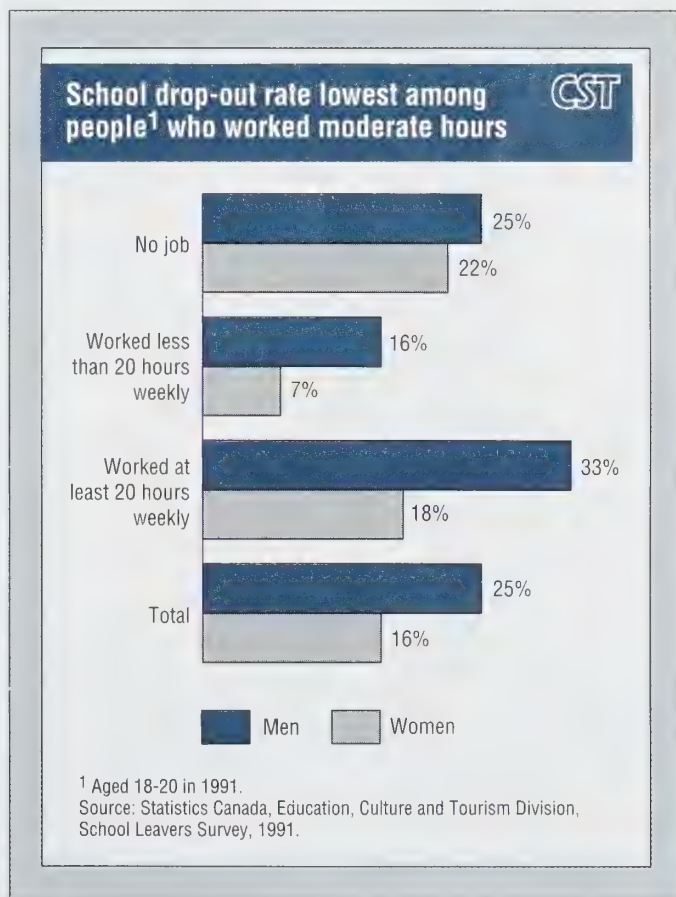
Several factors contribute to high unemployment rate among teens

Not only do young people consistently have a higher unemployment rate than do older Canadians, but the circumstances surrounding unemployment tend to differ considerably between the two age groups. Teenagers, on the one hand, tend to move in and out of the labour force more frequently, and may experience a period of unemployment – often quite short – each time they re-enter. Older Canadians, on the other hand, are more likely to go from job to job without a period of unemployment or to be unemployed for a long time.

In addition, young people are often among the first to lose their jobs during hard economic times. This is not only because they are usually in low-skilled or unskilled occupations, but also because they are often the most recently hired employees in their organization. In 1993, 180,000 young people aged 15-19, or 20%

¹ An 8-month average for the period January to April and September to December.

² Sample of young women too small for reliable estimate.





of all labour force participants³ in this age group, were unemployed, that is, they were not working but were looking for a job. That year, 16% of people aged 20-24 and 10% of those aged 25-54 were unemployed. Because of their relatively high unemployment rate, young people made up 12% of all unemployed Canadians in 1993, while representing only 6% of those with jobs.

During the recent economic downturn, the youth unemployment rate rose quickly, but did not reach the 1983 peak of 22%. The unemployment rate among people aged 20-24 also did not get as high as during the early 1980s. This was because, during this recession, young people were more likely to leave the labour force than they were during the last one, either returning to or staying in school. In contrast, among Canadians aged 25-54, a higher proportion were unemployed in 1993 than at any time during the previous recession.

The largest share of unemployed teens aged 15-19 in 1993 lost or were laid off from their job (38%). This was well below the proportion for unemployed workers aged 20 and over (71%). The next two most common reasons for teens to be unemployed were that they had never worked, but were looking for their first job (25%), or had left their job to return to school (22%). In comparison, only 6% of unemployed workers aged 20 and over had gone back to school or had never worked.

Unemployment rates are higher among teens in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces than among those in other provinces. This is consistent with the pattern among older people. In Newfoundland, 32% of labour force participants aged 15-19 were unemployed in 1993, the highest rate of any province. Other provincial unemployment rates ranged from 25% in Nova Scotia to 16% in Saskatchewan.

Unemployment has been higher among young men than young women throughout the last two decades, and the gap has grown larger during the last recession. In 1993, 22% of young men aged 15-19 were unemployed, compared with 18% of young women.

Future prospects Some young people unable to find jobs stop looking for work and either stay in school or return to continue their education and obtain credentials that likely will increase their chances of getting a good, full-time job. Human Resources Development has estimated that almost two-thirds of new jobs between 1991 and 2000 will require at least 13 years of education or training and 45% will require more than 16 years.

Other teens not only stop looking for work but also quit school before obtaining even a high school diploma. Such people may continue to live with and be supported by their parents. If this is not possible, however, young people with little education and job experience may have to rely on social assistance programs to meet basic necessities of living on their own.

³ The labour force includes employed people as well as those seeking employment.

• For more information on this topic, see **Youth in Canada, Second Edition**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 89-511E and "Youths – waiting it out," by Deborah Sunter in **Perspectives on Labour and Income**, Spring 1994, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001E.



Allophone Immigrants

Language Choices in the Home

by Éline Fournier

More than 4 million immigrants were living in Canada in 1991. Although many had one of Canada's official languages as their mother tongue, over 2.6 million were Allophones, that is, their mother tongue was a language other than English or French. Most Allophone immigrants adopt the dominant language of the community in which they live, allowing them greater access to employment opportunities and making it easier for them to deal with people in medical, educational and government services and organizations. Many also make a language transfer in their home, that is, they most often speak a language other than their mother tongue at home. Not surprisingly, the likelihood of having made such a transfer is much greater when Allophone immigrants have been in the country for several years.

In Canada, almost all Allophone immigrants who adopt a new home language use English. Even within Quebec, where French is the majority language, over half of Allophone immigrants who have made a transfer speak English in the home. Recently, however, Allophone immigrants in Quebec have been switching to French rather than English as their home language. For those who arrived since the mid-1970s, two-thirds have switched to French rather than English.



Proportion of Allophone immigrants having made a language transfer, by mother tongue, 1991

CST

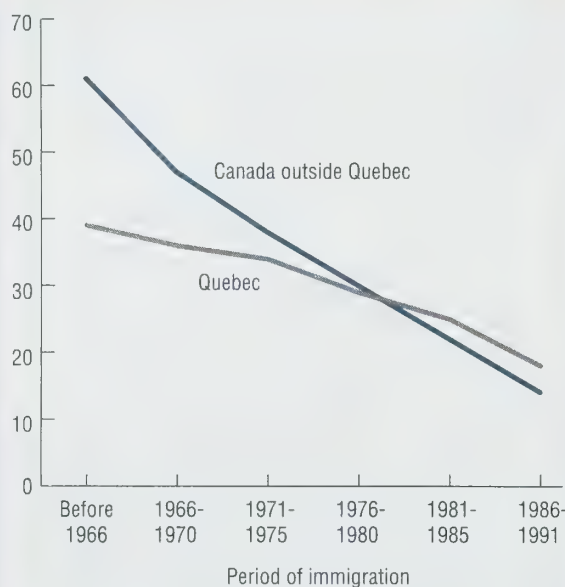
	Canada outside Quebec	Quebec
	%	
Italian	42	29
Chinese	15	11
German	75	72
Portuguese	31	30
Ukrainian	46	36
Polish	33	35
Spanish	31	27
Punjabi	17	32
Dutch	90	84
Greek	33	15
Arabic	38	37
Vietnamese	12	12
Creole	57	50
Total	39	31

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

Recent Allophone immigrants in Quebec more likely than those elsewhere to have made a language transfer

CST

% having made a language transfer



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Language transfers more common outside Quebec In 1991, 38% of Allophone immigrants in Canada most often spoke one or both of Canada's official languages at home. Although this is up from the 1986 figure of 33%, it is similar to the 1971 proportion of 39%.

Allophone immigrants living outside Quebec are more likely than those in Quebec to most often speak a language at home other than their mother tongue. In 1991, 39% of the 2.3 million living outside Quebec had made such a language transfer, compared with 30% of the 387,000 in Quebec. Part of the difference may be because a greater percentage of those living outside Quebec have been in Canada for a long time.

The pattern of higher rates of language transfer outside Quebec prevailed for many of the most common Allophone mother tongues among immigrants, with the exception of Vietnamese, Polish and Punjabi. In 1991, for example, of immigrants whose mother tongue was Italian, 42% living outside Quebec spoke either English or French at home, compared with 29% in Quebec. Language transfers among those whose mother tongue was Vietnamese were equally likely to occur outside Quebec as within that province (each 12%).

Recent Allophone immigrants less likely than long-term residents to have made a language transfer

Some recent Allophone immigrants may not have had the time to learn one of Canada's official languages or to become comfortable using it at home. Other Allophones continue to speak their own mother tongue at home even after having been in the country for many years. Reasons for not making a language transfer range from having a family member who does not speak English or French to wanting to maintain the ability to speak their mother tongue.

Overall, recent Allophone immigrants are much less likely than those who have been in the country for a long time to have switched to English or French as their home language. According to the 1991 Census, 15% of those who had arrived between 1986 and 1991 had made a language transfer, compared with 58% of those who came before 1966.

Recent Allophone immigrants in Quebec more likely than those elsewhere to have made a language transfer

Among Allophone immigrants who arrived before the late 1970s, those outside Quebec were more likely than those in Quebec to most often speak one or both of Canada's official languages at home. Since then, however, language transfers have been more common in Quebec. In 1991, of those who arrived in Canada between 1986 and 1991, 18% in Quebec spoke English or French at home in 1991 (mostly French), compared with 14% elsewhere in Canada. On the other hand, 39% of those in Quebec who arrived before 1966 had made a language transfer at home, compared with 61% in the rest of Canada.

Allophone immigrants in Quebec now more likely to switch to French than in the past

Almost all Allophone immigrants outside Quebec who make a language transfer speak English at home, regardless of when they came to Canada. In 1991, of those living outside Quebec who spoke one of Canada's official languages at home, less than 1% spoke French.

In Quebec, Allophone immigrants who had made a language transfer by 1991 were somewhat more likely to speak English (55%) at home than French (45%). In recent years, however,

Allophone immigrants have been much more likely to adopt French rather than English as their home language. Of those who had made a language transfer, about two-thirds who had arrived since the mid-1970s spoke French at home in 1991, compared with one-half who arrived between 1971 and 1975 and one-quarter who came before 1966.

In 1991, 89% of Quebec's Allophone immigrants lived in the Montreal census metropolitan area (CMA). As is the case in the province overall, Allophone immigrants in the CMA are increasingly adopting French rather than English as

their home language. In 1991, of those who had made a language transfer, 63% who had arrived in the last five years spoke French at home, in contrast to only 22% who arrived before 1966.

Several changes to Quebec's language and immigration policies have taken place in the last two decades. Since 1977, Bill 101 has promoted the use of French in businesses and the education system. For example, immigrants, in general, were required to send their children to French schools. Moreover, in 1978, the Quebec and federal governments reached an agreement that gave Quebec's ministère de

l'Immigration (now the ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles) control over the selection of immigrants to the province. Quebec's immigration policy aims to increase the proportion of immigrants who are Francophone. The selection criteria for immigrants favour French-speaking immigrants, although a major factor influencing eligibility is still "employability."

Ottawa-Hull: a special case The Ottawa-Hull CMA is Canada's only CMA to straddle two provinces, with Ottawa in Ontario and Hull in Quebec. Most Allophone immigrants in the Ottawa-Hull CMA live in the Ontario part (90%) and speak English at home if they have made a language transfer. Overall, 38% of Allophone immigrants in the CMA had made a language transfer by 1991, with those in both the Ottawa and Hull regions being equally likely to have done so. Of those who had made a language transfer, 92% spoke English at home.

Not surprisingly, speaking French at home was more common among Allophone immigrants in the Quebec part of the CMA. In 1991, 46% of those in the Hull region who had made a language transfer spoke French at home, compared with only 4% of those in the Ottawa region.

In addition, recent Allophone immigrants in the Ottawa-Hull CMA were more likely to speak French at home in 1991 than those who had been in the country for several years. The shift toward French was particularly strong in the Quebec part of the CMA: of those who had made a language transfer, just under two-thirds of Allophone immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1991 spoke French at home in 1991, compared with just over one-quarter of those who arrived before 1966. Even in the Ontario part, of those who had made a language transfer, 11% who arrived between 1986 and 1991 spoke French at home, whereas this was the case for less than 2% who came before 1966.

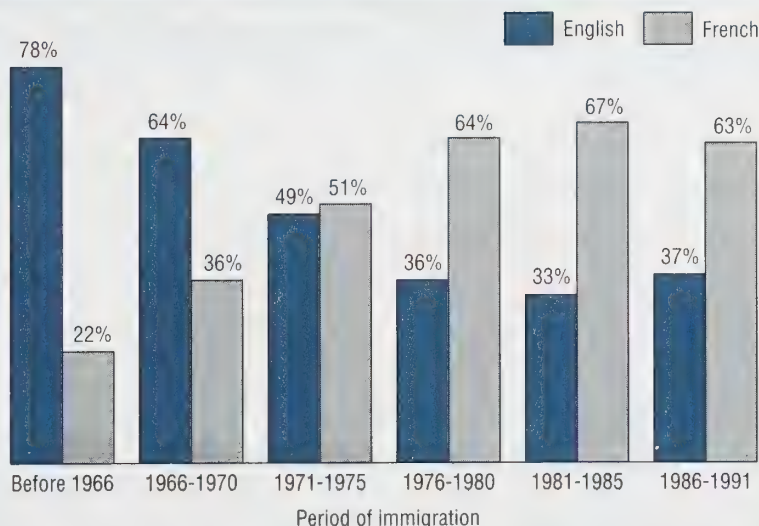
Élaine Fournier completed this article while on assignment with the Demolinguistics Division. Any questions can be directed to **Brian Harrison**, Demolinguistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Francophones living outside Quebec also switching to English in the home The proportion of Francophones (those whose mother tongue is French) living outside Quebec who speak English most of the time at home has increased over the last two decades. In 1991, 35% of Francophones living outside Quebec spoke English in the home, up from 30% in 1971.

Increasingly, Anglophones in Quebec speaking French at home Language transfers do not occur as frequently among Anglophones (those whose mother tongue is English) in Quebec as among Francophones outside Quebec. Only 9% of Anglophones living in Quebec spoke French at home in 1991. Nonetheless, the proportion has increased from 6% in 1971.

Recent Allophone immigrants in Montreal more likely to speak French than English at home in 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

A History of Emigration from Canada

by Craig McKie

Since Confederation, emigration from Canada has been a significant and constant phenomenon. From 1851 to 1991, an estimated 7.9 million Canadian residents left Canada permanently to live in other countries. Immigration to Canada over that period, 12.5 million people, was not even double that total. Although most who emigrated to other countries were Canadian by birth, many had come to Canada as immigrants.

During the latter part of the 1800s and the early part of the 1900s, annual emigration flows were especially large and immigration flows were increased to replace those who had left. Emigration not only accelerated changes in the characteristics of Canada's population but also created large communities of ex-patriot Canadians in other countries.

The main destination of Canada's emigrants has always been the United States. Since the mid-1960s, however, this traditional route has been restricted by United States' immigration regulations.



Impact of emigration has lessened since the 1930s Emigrants represented 1% to 3% of Canada's total population each decade from 1931 to 1991. Before then, however, they represented between 5% and 17% of the total population each decade since the 1850s.

During the last half of the 1800s, emigration numbers were so large that the flow of people out of the country exceeded the flow of immigrants into the country. From 1851 to 1901, 2.2 million people emigrated from Canada, while only 1.9 million people immigrated to Canada.

Emigration totals remained very high until 1931. In fact, from 1911 to 1921, 1.1 million emigrants left Canada, the largest number ever recorded in a single decade. Overall, from 1901 to 1931, 2.8 million people emigrated from Canada, while 4.2 million people immigrated to Canada.

During the 1930s and 1940s, a period of economic depression and war, both



emigration and immigration totals dropped. From 1931 to 1941, numbers in both categories were the lowest ever recorded: 241,000 emigrants and 149,000 immigrants. Although totals were larger from 1941 to 1951 – 379,000 emigrants and 548,000 immigrants – they were much lower than those recorded before the 1930s.

After 1951, emigration increased, but, for the first time, not as quickly as immigration. Immigration totals returned to levels similar to those of the early 1900s, equalling or exceeding 1.4 million each decade since 1951. Emigration totals, on the other hand, increased from 462,000 in the 1950s to 707,000 in the 1960s, before falling to over a half million in the 1970s and 1980s.

Most Canadians living abroad are in the United States According to a Statistics Canada estimate based on United States' and United Nations' records, 1 million Canadian-born people were living outside of the country in 1980.¹ Most of these Canadians (84%) were living in the United States. The next largest concentrations of Canadians were in the United Kingdom (6%), Italy (2%), Australia (2%) and France (1%). Relatively few were in

¹ Migration between the United States and Canada, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-530E. Data were based on 57 countries which collected information on Canadian born on their national censuses.

Net migration¹ highest between 1951 and 1961

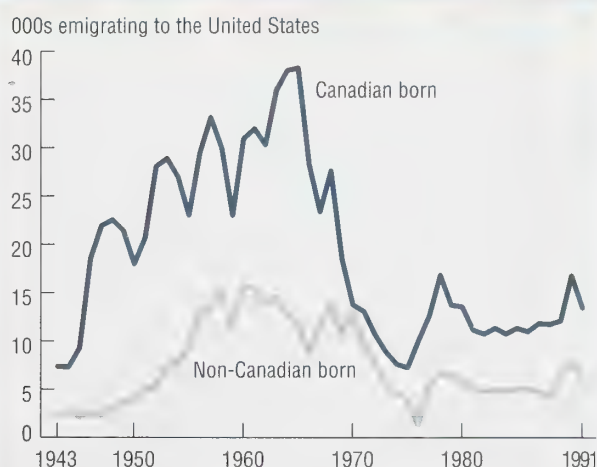
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¹ Migration equals immigration minus emigration.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 11-402E.

Many people emigrating from Canada to the United States are non-Canadian born

CST



Source: United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

the former West Germany, New Zealand, Yugoslavia, Mexico and Belgium (less than 1% each), with the remaining 2% in other countries.

According to the 1990 United States' Census, of all people living in the United States born in other countries, those born in Canada (745,000 people) were the third largest group, following those born in Mexico (4.3 million) and the Philippines (913,000). Over half of these

Canadian-born people had become naturalized citizens of the United States.

Lower recent emigration linked to tighter American immigration laws

In 1965, the United States, the predominant destination of Canadian emigrants, restricted immigration from Canada. Before 1965, migration flows between Canada and the United States proceeded with relatively little hindrance from

national boundaries or immigration quotas. Amendments introduced to the United States' *Immigration and Nationality Act* in 1965, however, limited all Western hemisphere immigration for the first time to an annual quota of 120,000 people. Additional amendments in 1976 restricted the per-country limit for the Western hemisphere to 20,000 people and added a preference system for Western hemisphere natives. In 1978, Eastern and Western hemisphere quotas were combined, creating a world-wide ceiling on immigration to the United States.

According to the American Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the number of immigrants admitted to the United States who reported Canada as their last country of residence decreased by more than half from the 1960s to the 1970s, and then remained at that level. In both the 1950s and 1960s, there were about 400,000 immigrants admitted to the United States whose last country of residence was Canada. In contrast, the United States admitted only 169,900 Canadian immigrants between 1971 and 1980 and 156,900 in the following decade.

Canadian-born population in the United States has fallen

The impact of restrictions on Canadian immigration to the United States is also reflected in United States' census counts. In 1990, there were 744,800 Canadian-born people living in the United States, down from 842,900 in 1980 and 812,400 in 1970.

These counts are much lower than those recorded earlier this century. From 1900 to 1950, for example, each United States' census recorded over 1 million Canadian-born residents. The lower figures in recent years reflect, in part, the high mortality among the large group of older Canadian-born residents in the United States.

Throughout Canada's history, fewer Americans have immigrated to Canada than Canadians to the United States and the population of Americans in Canada has always been small. According to the 1991 Census of Canada, 267,200 American-born residents were living in Canada.² This is down from 312,000 in 1981 and 309,600 in 1971. Although the 1971 count was higher than that in 1961 (283,900), the number of American born

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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Canadian illegal aliens in the United States Every year, several hundred Canadians are apprehended by the United States' Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for violations of the United States' *Immigration and Nationality Act*. In 1991, the INS estimated that there were 7,300 Canadian illegal aliens living in the United States, that is, Canadians who could be deported. Of these, 64% had entered the United States without inspection and 32% had entered as visitors.

In 1991, 318 Canadians were expelled from the United States. Of these, 244 were deported and 74 left after having been informed that the INS had grounds to deport them (required departure under docket control). Almost half of those expelled were returned to Canada because of criminal or narcotics violations, 24% had failed to maintain or comply with conditions of non-immigrant status and 18% had entered the United States without inspection or had made false statements to gain entry.

Migrants to and from Canada, 1851-1991

CST

Period of migration	Immigration	Emigration
	000s	
1851-1861	352	170
1861-1871	260	411
1871-1881	350	404
1881-1891	680	826
1891-1901	250	380
1901-1911	1,550	739
1911-1921	1,400	1,089
1921-1931	1,200	971
1931-1941	149	241
1941-1951	548	379
1951-1961	1,543	462
1961-1971	1,429	707
1971-1981	1,429	566
1981-1991	1,374	582

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 11-402E.

in Canada declined between 1921 and 1961. During the first two decades of the 20th century, however, the number of American born in Canada increased to 374,000 in 1921 from 127,900 in 1901.

Many immigrants to Canada left to become residents of the United States

Each decade from the 1950s to the 1980s and in both 1990 and 1991, 30% of immigrants to the United States whose last country of residence was Canada were not Canadian by birth, according to INS records. In contrast, during the 1940s, a decade of very low levels of Canadian immigration and emigration, less than 20% of immigrants to the United States from Canada were not Canadian born.

Although there is no earlier information, this phenomenon likely occurred in previous decades. It may have been even more prevalent during the early 1900s when both immigration and emigration levels were very high. From the mid-1800s until the 1960s, whenever immigration to Canada was high, emigration from Canada to the United States was also high. Similarly, when immigration to Canada was low, so was emigration to the United States. The movement of immigration flows to Canada in tandem with emigration flows from Canada to the United States suggests that at least some immigrants to Canada, particularly during the early 1900s, may have come to Canada with the intention of emigrating to the United States.

Many people hold multiple citizenships and residency rights

As international travel and migration increase, the number of Canadians living outside the country and of those holding multiple citizenships or legal residency rights may also increase. According to the 1991 Census, 70,000 Canadian citizens by birth living in Canada were also citizens of at least one other country. In addition, 245,400 Canadians with citizenship through naturalization also reported being citizens of other countries. Many more



Canadian citizens are eligible for other citizenships or legal residency rights. For example, those who are Canadian by birth but who were born in another country may be entitled to citizenship in their country of birth. Other Canadian citizens may be entitled to citizenship in their parent's or grandparent's country of birth, depending on that country's laws.

The same principle also applies to the children of Canadian citizens who emigrated to other countries. In the United States, for example, over 2.2 million people reported on the 1970 Census that they had at least one parent born in Canada. Although this information was not collected in later United States' censuses, the 1970 results indicate that the number of people in the United States who might be eligible for Canadian citizenship is likely more than double the number of Canadian-born residents in that country. The same is also likely true for Canadian emigrants living in other countries.

EEC may attract future Canadian emigrants

Migration is encouraged among European Economic Community (EEC) countries. According to EEC regulations, citizens of member countries have the right to seek employment and permanent residence in other member countries. As of 1991, the total number of people so relocated was 5.5 million (2% of the total

EEC population). As international labour mobility becomes more prominent and more advantageous to some individuals, Canadians entitled to citizenship in an EEC member country may choose to exercise that right to gain residency rights and employment in any EEC country.

Emigration opportunities are growing

One effect of large scale emigration has been the creation of substantial ex-patriot populations of former Canadian residents in other countries, most notably the United States. For example, estimates calculated from Roman Catholic Church documentation indicate that approximately 5 million Roman Catholics of French-

Canadian ancestry were living in the United States in 1970.

Compared to immigration flows, emigration has been much smaller in the past fifty years. This has resulted, in part, from tighter restrictions on emigration between Canada and the United States, the historical destination of most Canadian emigrants. Emigration from Canada may increase in the future, however, because Canadians now have more opportunities to live and work in other countries than they have had in the past few decades.

Canadians can move more freely within North America because the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States has provisions which ease the flow of temporary labour from one country to another. Many Canadians may take advantage of opportunities to live and work outside of the country, particularly if employment and other life-style factors are perceived to be better in other countries than at home.

² Non-permanent residents were included in the census for the first time in 1991.

Dr. Craig McKie is an Associate Professor of Sociology, Carleton University and a Contributing Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.



POPULATION

1986 Census Highlights	Summer 1987
1986 Census Highlights: Aging of the Canadian Population	Winter 1987
1986 Census Highlights: Winnipeg	Spring 1990
75 Years of Social Reporting	Summer 1993
A History of Emigration from Canada	Winter 1994
A Profile of Employed Migrants Between Atlantic Canada and Ontario	Spring 1987
Allophone Immigrants: Language Choices in the Home	Winter 1994
An Aging Society: Another Viewpoint	Spring 1991
Dependency Ratios	
Implications of an Aging Society	
Are Young People Farming?	Autumn 1993
Calgary: A Statistical Profile	Winter 1987
Canada in the 21st Century	Summer 1986
Canada's Children	Summer 1991
Canada's Immigrant Children	Spring 1992
Canada's Immigrant Population	Autumn 1989
Canada's Immigrants: Recent Trends	Summer 1993
Canada's Off-reserve Aboriginal Population	Winter 1991
Canada's Refugee Flows: Gender Inequality	Spring 1994
Canada's Seniors	Autumn 1991
Canadians on the Move	Summer 1992
Changes in Fertility Among Canada's Linguistic Groups	Autumn 1988
Changing Faces: Visible Minorities in Toronto	Winter 1991
Defining Toronto	Summer 1993
Emotional Support and Family Contacts of Older Canadians	Spring 1993
Ethnic Diversity in the 1990s	Autumn 1993
Ethnic Origins of the Canadian Population	Summer 1989
Falling Through the Cracks: Women Aged 55-64 Living on Their Own	Winter 1991
Forty Years of Social Housing in Toronto	Winter 1987
Help Around the House: Support for Older Canadians	Autumn 1989
Immigration	Autumn 1986
Immigration During the 1980s	Spring 1991
Interregional Migration of the Canadian Population	Autumn 1987
Language in Canada	Spring 1989

Leaving the Fold: Declining Church Attendance	Autumn 1991
Living Arrangements of Canada's "Older Elderly" Population	Autumn 1988
Migration Between Atlantic Canada and Ontario, 1951-1985	Spring 1987
Non Parlo Né Inglese, Né Francese "I Can't Speak English or French"	Winter 1993
Population Aging: Baby Boomers Into the 21st Century	Summer 1993
Profile of the Canadian Armed Forces	Winter 1989
Public Opinion on Aboriginal Peoples' Issues in Canada	Winter 1988
Religious Affiliation in Canada	Autumn 1987
Seniors 75+: Living Arrangements and Lifestyles	Autumn 1993
Living Arrangements	
Lifestyles	
Social Consequences of Demographic Change	Winter 1993
South Asians in Canada	Autumn 1989
Temporary Residents of Canada	Spring 1994
The Demographic Future	Summer 1990
The Farm Community	Spring 1990
The Indo-Chinese in Canada	Autumn 1990
The Inner City in Transition	Spring 1990
The Inuit	Winter 1989
The Northern Population	Winter 1989
The Socio-demographic Conditions of Registered Indians	Winter 1986
Two by Two? Sex Ratios of Unattached Canadians	Spring 1994
Urban Canada	Winter 1987
Urbanization in Canada	Summer 1991

FAMILY

1986 Census Highlights: Changes in Living Arrangements	Spring 1989
1986 Census Highlights: Marital Status	Spring 1988
Adoption in Canada	Spring 1994
Alimony and Child Support	Spring 1993
Births Outside Marriage: A Growing Alternative	Summer 1994
Births to Unmarried Women	Summer 1986
Caring for Children	Autumn 1991
Changes in Family Living	Summer 1993

CUMULATIVE INDEX OF ARTICLES: SUMMER 1986 – WINTER 1994 (cont.)



Child Care	Summer 1986	Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1991	Spring 1992
Common Law: A Growing Alternative	Winter 1991	Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1990	Spring 1991
Common Law: Living Together as Husband and Wife Without Marriage	Autumn 1986	Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1989	Spring 1990
Common-law Unions: Nearly Half a Million in 1986	Autumn 1988	Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1988	Spring 1989
Common-law Unions: The Quebec Difference	Summer 1994	Annual Review of Labour Force Trends	Summer 1987
Decline in the Number of Children	Autumn 1990	Annual Review of Labour Force Trends	Autumn 1986
Divorce Rates in Canada	Winter 1988	Annual Update on Labour Force Trends	Summer 1988
Dual Earners: Who's Responsible for Housework?	Winter 1993	Canadians and Retirement	Autumn 1992
Families: Diversity the New Norm	Summer 1986	Changes in Women's Occupations	Autumn 1990
Female Lone Parenthood: The Duration of Episodes	Autumn 1988	Changing Occupational Structure	Winter 1991
Household Chores	Spring 1990	Employment Equity	Autumn 1991
Marriage in Canada: Changing Beliefs and Behaviours, 1600-1990	Summer 1994	Employment of Disabled Canadians	Summer 1988
Marrying and Divorcing: A Status Report for Canada	Summer 1989	Employment Patterns of Elderly Canadians	Autumn 1987
Mixed-language Couples and Their Children	Summer 1993	Increases in Long-term Unemployment	Spring 1987
Robert Glossop on the Canadian Family	Winter 1994	Involuntary Part-time Employment in Canada, 1975-1986	Autumn 1987
Today's Extended Families	Winter 1992	Job Displacement	Spring 1988
Traditional-earner Families	Spring 1994	Labour Force Trends: Canada and the United States	Autumn 1988
Tying the Knot: An Overview of Marriage Rates in Canada	Autumn 1987	Labour Force Trends: Two Decades in Review	Autumn 1990
Women Parenting Alone	Winter 1987	Maternity Leave	Autumn 1989
Young Adults Living in Their Parents' Home	Summer 1989	Nursing in Canada	Spring 1992
		Regional Unemployment	Spring 1990
		Secretaries	Summer 1990
		Self-employment in Canada	Spring 1989
		The Changing Industrial Mix of Employment, 1951-1985	Spring 1987
		The Decline in Employment Among Men Aged 55-64, 1975-1985	Spring 1987
		The Decline of Unpaid Family Work	Winter 1988
		The Growth of Part-time Work	Autumn 1986
		The Help-Wanted Index	Spring 1988
		The Labour Force Participation of Immigrants	Autumn 1986
		The Law: A Changing Profession	Summer 1986
		The Service Sector in the 1980s	Spring 1989
		The Value of Household Work in Canada	Autumn 1986
		Unemployment Rates for the Full-time and Part-time Labour Forces	Autumn 1987
		Unemployment Insurance in Canada	Spring 1993
		Unionization in Canada	Spring 1988
		Women Employed Outside the Home	Summer 1989
		Women in Male-dominated Professions	Winter 1987

HOUSING

Canadians in Subsidized Housing	Winter 1992
Co-operative Housing: A Third Tenure Form	Spring 1990
Home Improvement	Summer 1990
Home Ownership	Spring 1990
Mortgage Rates and the Housing Market	Winter 1986
People in Co-operative Housing	Autumn 1990
Shelter Costs	Spring 1990

LABOUR FORCE

Absenteeism at Work	Summer 1992
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1993	Spring 1994
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1992	Spring 1993

Women in Professional Occupations: Progress in the 1980s	Spring 1989
Women in the Workplace	Spring 1993
Work Injuries	Summer 1987
Working Teens	Winter 1994

INCOME

Average Expenditure of Urban Canadians	Summer 1987
Changes in Real Wages	Spring 1994
Children and Elderly People: Sharing Public Income Resources	Summer 1992
Children in Low-income Families	Winter 1986
Dual-earner Families: The New Norm	Spring 1989
Food Banks	Spring 1992
Income of Canada's Seniors	Autumn 1988
Lone Parenthood: Gender Differences	Winter 1992
Losing Ground: Wages of Young People, 1981-1986	Summer 1989
Low Income in Canada	Spring 1987
Married and Unmarried Couples: The Tax Question	Summer 1991
Measuring Low Incomes in Canada	Summer 1992
Parents and Children Living with Low Incomes	Winter 1992
Retirement Income Programs in Canada	Winter 1986
The Decline of Real Family Income, 1980-1984	Winter 1986
Where does the Money Go? Spending Patterns of Canadian Households, 1969-1992	Winter 1994

EDUCATION

1976 and 1982 Postsecondary Graduates: Selected Highlights of Their Labour Force Experience	Autumn 1987
A Select Few: Canada's Ph.D. Population	Winter 1988
Changes in Educational Attainment	Summer 1990
Community Colleges: An Alternative to Universities	Winter 1986
Computer Literacy	Winter 1990
Education in Canada: Selected Highlights	Autumn 1986
Educational Achievement: An International Comparison	Autumn 1993
Educational Attainment of Linguistic Groups in Canada	Spring 1991

Employment of Humanities and Science Graduates	Summer 1989
Foreign Students	Summer 1986
Foreign Students at Canadian Universities	Summer 1989
French Immersion	Autumn 1986
French Immersion Programs	Autumn 1991
Low Educational Attainment in Canada, 1975-1985	Spring 1987
Mature Students	Autumn 1992
Part-time Adult Training	Winter 1988
Part-time University Enrolment	Summer 1987
Private Education	Summer 1986
Program Choices of Foreign University Students	Autumn 1989
Reading Skills	Winter 1990
Reading Skills of the Immigrant Population	Autumn 1992
School Leavers	Autumn 1993
University Enrolment in the 1980s	Winter 1989
Women in School Administration	Autumn 1990
Women Teaching at Canadian Universities	Summer 1988

HEALTH

Accidents	Summer 1990
AIDS	Winter 1991
Into the 1990s	
Knowledge, Attitudes and Behaviours in Alberta	
AIDS in Canada	Summer 1988
Alcohol and Drug Consumption Among Canadian Youth	Autumn 1992
Alcohol and Drug Use	Spring 1991
Cardiovascular Disease, Cancer and Life Expectancy	Winter 1988
Changing Health Risks	Summer 1986
Children with Disabilities	Winter 1990
Disabilities Among Children	Winter 1993
Drug Use Among Senior Canadians	Summer 1994
Early Childhood Mortality, 1926-1986	Summer 1991
Hospital Care in the 21st Century	Winter 1989
Increased Life Expectancy, 1921-1981	Summer 1987
Indian Mortality	Winter 1989
Lifestyle Risks: Smoking and Drinking in Canada	Spring 1987
Occupational Stress	Autumn 1992
Organ Donation and Transplantation	Spring 1993
Physical Fitness	Summer 1992
Profile of Canadians with Disabilities	Autumn 1990

CUMULATIVE INDEX OF ARTICLES: SUMMER 1986 – WINTER 1994 – END



Provincial Differences in Health Practices	Summer 1994
Residential Care	Autumn 1989
Seniors with Disabilities	Spring 1991
Sleep Patterns	Winter 1990
Sleep Problems: Whom do They Affect?	Winter 1992
Surgery Among Elderly People	Summer 1991
The Decline in Cardiovascular Disease Mortality	Autumn 1989
The Decline of Stroke Mortality	Autumn 1987
The Incidence of Sexually Transmitted Disease in Canada	Summer 1987
Therapeutic Abortion in Canada	Spring 1988
Trends in Cancer Since 1970	Summer 1988
Trends in Health Status and Practices, Canada and the United States	Winter 1993
Trends in Low Birth Weight	Spring 1993
Trends in Suicide	Winter 1988
Well-being of Older Canadians	Summer 1992
What Canadians are Eating	Winter 1990

JUSTICE

Albertans' Opinions on Street Prostitution	Summer 1994
Canada's Court System	Summer 1992
Canada's Prison Population	Summer 1987
Canada's Shelters for Abused Women	Autumn 1994
Compensation for Victims of Crime	Winter 1986
Drug Crimes	Spring 1991
Homicide	Summer 1990
Homicide in Canada	Winter 1987
Household Property Crime	Spring 1990
Illegal Drug Use in Canada	Winter 1988
Impaired Driving Offences	Spring 1989
Legal Aid in Canada	Summer 1987
Missing Children	Spring 1992
Motor Vehicle Crimes	Autumn 1994
Perceptions of the Justice System	Winter 1990
Policing in Canada	Summer 1990
Street Prostitution in Canada	Summer 1994
Trends in the Crime Rate in Canada, 1970-1985	Autumn 1986
Violence in the Family	Autumn 1989
Family Homicide	
Male Violence in the Home	

Violent Crime	Summer 1988
Violent Victimization	Summer 1990
Violent Youth Crime	Autumn 1992
Wife Abuse	Spring 1988
Wife Assault in Canada	Autumn 1994
Young Offenders	Autumn 1990

CULTURE

Canadian Content in the Cultural Marketplace	Summer 1993
Canadians Travelling Abroad	Autumn 1991
Commuting Time	Winter 1990
Eating Out	Summer 1989
How Canadians Spend Their Day	Winter 1989
Passenger Traffic on Commercial Air Services	Spring 1988
Performing Arts	Winter 1990
Periodical Publishing in Canada	Summer 1992
Public Libraries	Winter 1989
Television Viewing	Autumn 1989
Tempus Fugit...Are you Time Crunched?	Winter 1993
The Film Industry in Canada	Summer 1988
Time Use of Canadians in 1992	Autumn 1993
Time Use of the Elderly	Summer 1990
Travel Within Canada	Summer 1988

MISCELLANEOUS

Behind the Wheel: Canadians and Their Vehicles	Autumn 1994
Charitable Donations	Summer 1992
Environmental Practices of Canadian Households	Spring 1993
Expanding the Choices	Summer 1986
Fire!	Autumn 1994
Loss of Prime Agricultural Land: The Example of Southern Ontario	Summer 1988
Lotteries in Canada	Autumn 1988
Motor Vehicles and Air Pollution	Spring 1992
New Necessities: Popular Household Appliances	Autumn 1988
Private Transportation	Spring 1989
Voting and Contributing: Political Participation in Canada	Winter 1992



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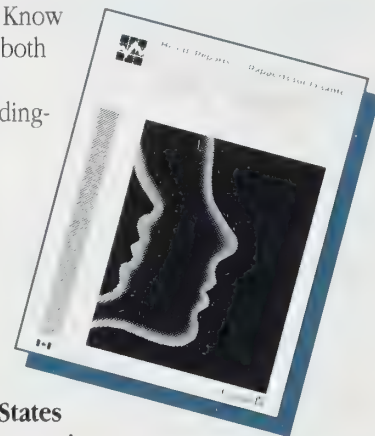
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SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,203.8	26,549.7	26,894.8	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1 ^{PD}	28,542.2 ^{PD}	28,940.6 ^{PR}
Annual growth (%)	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.2 ^{PD}	1.5 ^{PD}	1.4 ^{PR}
Immigration ¹	88,639	130,813	152,413	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810 ^F	264,967 ^R
Emigration ¹	50,595	47,707	40,978	40,395	39,760	43,692 ^{IR}	45,633 ^{PD}	43,992 ^{PR}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.7	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.7 ^R	6.9 ^R	7.0 ^R	7.0 ^R	6.8 ^R	6.1 ^R	5.8	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.0 ^R	3.6 ^R	3.1	3.0 ^R	2.8 ^R	2.7 ^R	2.8	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	915	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,531	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383
– goods sector (000s)	3,477	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302
– service sector (000s)	8,054	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082
Total unemployment (000s)	1,215	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562
Unemployment rate (%)	9.5	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2
Part-time employment (%)	15.5	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3
Women's participation rate (%)	55.3	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	34.1	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	36,858	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	*
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	13.3 ^R	12.8 ^R	12.0 ^R	10.9 ^R	12.0 ^R	12.9 ^R	13.3	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.8	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,938.0	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4	5,294.0	5,367.3 ^E
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	796.9	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4	930.5 ^R	949.3 ^R
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,218	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,237
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.6	6.0	*	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	41.4	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1 ^R	*
– women	44.9	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7 ^R	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	25.9	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.7 ^R	*
– women	25.5	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.7 ^R	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.3	6.8	*	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	808	856	898	948	1,013	1,056 ^R	1,081 ^R	1,079
– property	5,714	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841	6,141 ^R	5,890 ^R	5,562
– homicide	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7 ^R	2.6 ^R	2.2
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1991 \$000,000)	166,581.0	169,773.5	174,328.5	181,227.0	188,899.1	196,775.1	*	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.4	56.1	56.3	55.9	56.6	58.5	*	*
– as a % of GDP	26.1	25.5	24.8	25.2	26.7	29.1	*	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,136.7	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,652.2	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,892.9	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+3.3	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	-0.2	-1.7	+0.7	+2.4
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.2	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8
Urban housing starts	170,863	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988
– Not available * Not yet available P Preliminary data E Estimate ^m Figures as of March ^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates PD Final postcensal estimates PP Preliminary postcensal estimates PR Updated postcensal estimates R Revised data F Final data								
¹ For year ending June 30								
² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

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contents

SPRING 1995

No.36

WOMEN ASSAULTED BY STRANGERS

by Carol Strike

2

HOUSING TENURE TRENDS, 1951-1991

by Cynthia Silver and René Van Diepen

8

HOUSING AFFORDABILITY PROBLEMS AMONG RENTERS

by Oliver Lo and Pierre Gauthier

14

SPORT PARTICIPATION IN CANADA

by Jean-Pierre Corbeil

18

WORKING MOTHERS

by Ron Logan and Jo-Anne Belliveau

24

WOMEN, MEN & WORK

by Pamela Best

30

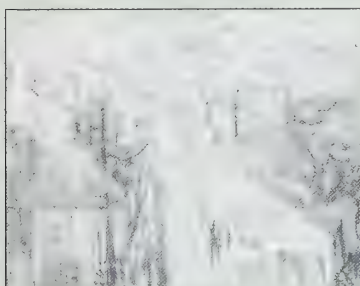
ANNUAL LABOUR FORCE ESTIMATES, 1946-1994

34

SOCIAL INDICATORS

35

Cumulative Index of Articles – Winter 1994 Issue



ON OUR COVER:

New Housing Project (1956), oil on canvas, 88.8 x 127.4 cm.

Collection: National Gallery of Canada.

About the artist:

Born in 1922 in Vancouver, British Columbia, **Molly Lamb Bobak** became interested in art at an early age. Mrs. Bobak took art studies at

the Vancouver School of Art where she studied under J.L. Shadbolt who influenced her earliest work. A painter of colourful landscapes, cityscapes, outdoor activities and scenes with crowds, Mrs. Bobak has several works displayed at the National Gallery of Canada. Today, she resides in Fredericton, New Brunswick with her husband, Bruno Bobak.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

Editor-in-Chief

CYNTHIA SILVER

Editors

JO-ANNE BELLIVEAU

JILLIAN ODERKIRK

JEFFREY FRANK

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ALEX SOLIS

Art Direction

DISSEMINATION DIVISION
STATISTICS CANADA

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Illustrations and Photos

SUPERSTOCK

RICHARD STEIN

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WOMEN ASSAULTED BY STRANGERS

by Carol Strike

In 1993, Statistics Canada, with funding from Health Canada, conducted the Violence Against Women (VAW) survey as part of the federal government's Family Violence Initiative. Although the highlights of this survey were released in November 1993, since that time Statistics Canada has undertaken more detailed analyses of the survey results. The VAW survey addressed not only violence against women by men who were known to them, but also sexual and physical assaults perpetrated by male strangers. This article examines the extent and nature of women's victimization by strangers.

According to the VAW survey, 4% of women aged 18 and over (431,000) had been sexually or physically assaulted by a stranger in the year before the survey. Young women were more likely than older women to have experienced this type of an assault. Although the proportion of women assaulted by a stranger in the year before the survey was lower than the proportion assaulted by men they knew (7%), assaults by strangers are a serious concern as they can affect levels of fear and the quality of life.

Women who have been victimized by strangers are often not only physically harmed, but also suffer emotional consequences, including fear and anger, that can last long after the incident occurs. Because of the risk of an assault, even women who have never been assaulted often fear for their personal safety in many everyday situations. In response to the risk faced by women, a growing number of programs and preventative measures designed to help ensure women's safety are being organized in many Canadian communities.

Sexual and physical assaults by strangers In the 12 months before the VAW survey, 3% of women aged 18 and over (317,000) had been sexually assaulted by a stranger. Although sexual assaults can also involve physical violence, 1% of women (147,000) experienced an assault by a stranger that was strictly physical with no sexual element. Proportions were much higher when women were asked whether they had ever been sexually or physically assaulted by a stranger since the age of 16. Over 2 million women (19%) had been sexually assaulted and close to 800,000 women (8%) had been physically assaulted by a stranger at least once in their adult lives.

These incidents were all assaults chargeable under the *Criminal Code*. Sexual assault includes acts ranging from unwanted sexual touching to a sexual attack that results in wounding or maiming, or that endangers the life of the victim. Fifteen percent of women

reported having been victims of unwanted sexual touching by a stranger at least once in their adult lives, and 7% said they had been violently sexually attacked. In the 12 months before the survey, 3% of women had been sexually touched by a stranger and less than 1% had been violently sexually attacked.

Physical assaults include not only the use of force, ranging from being hit or kicked to being beaten, knifed or shot, but also threats of physical harm which the victim believed would be carried out. According to the survey, 5% of women had been threatened and 4% had been physically attacked by a stranger at least once in their adult lives. During the 12 months before the survey, 1% of women had been physically threatened by a stranger and less than 1% had been physically attacked.

Younger women more likely to have been assaulted by strangers During the 12 months

before the survey, women aged 18-24 were more than twice as likely to have been sexually (11%) or physically assaulted (4%) by a stranger than were women aged 25-34. Rates of sexual and physical assaults by strangers in each subsequent age group were lower. This pattern is consistent with victimization in general, as younger people of either gender are more likely than older people to be in places or situations where they are at risk.

The proportion of women who reported ever having been assaulted by a stranger during their lifetime was also higher among younger age groups. About one-quarter of women between the ages of 18 and 44 had been sexually assaulted by a stranger at least once since the age of 16. The rate for the youngest age group (18-24) was particularly high considering these women had been at risk of ever having been assaulted for the shortest period of time. In contrast, the proportions of women aged 45-54 (19%) and 55 and over (10%) who reported having ever been sexually assaulted by a stranger were much lower.

Young women were also more likely than older women to have been victims of assaults by strangers that were non-sexual in nature. About 10% of women in each age group between 18 and 44 reported having been physically assaulted by a stranger at least once since age 16, compared with 8% of women aged 45-54, and 4% of those aged 55 and over.

The lifetime assault rates for older women may be underestimated because public perception of this type of violence has changed. Older women may have been less willing to report assaults by strangers to an interviewer, less likely to recall incidents or even less likely to have considered certain incidents as assaults. Nonetheless, the risk of violence by strangers may be higher now than in the past, partly because lifestyles have changed. In particular, young women are more likely today than in the past to be living on their own in large urban centres. Many use public transportation and are often out alone at night.

Women in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario most likely to have been assaulted by a stranger

Women living in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario were more likely than those living in other provinces to have been assaulted by a stranger. Over one-quarter (26%) of women in British Columbia had been sexually assaulted by a stranger at least once since the age of 16, followed by 22% of women in Alberta and 20% in Ontario and Prince Edward Island. Physical assaults were also most commonly reported by women in British Columbia (11%), Alberta (10%) and Ontario (8%). Newfoundland had the lowest rates of both sexual (12%) and physical assaults (3%). This

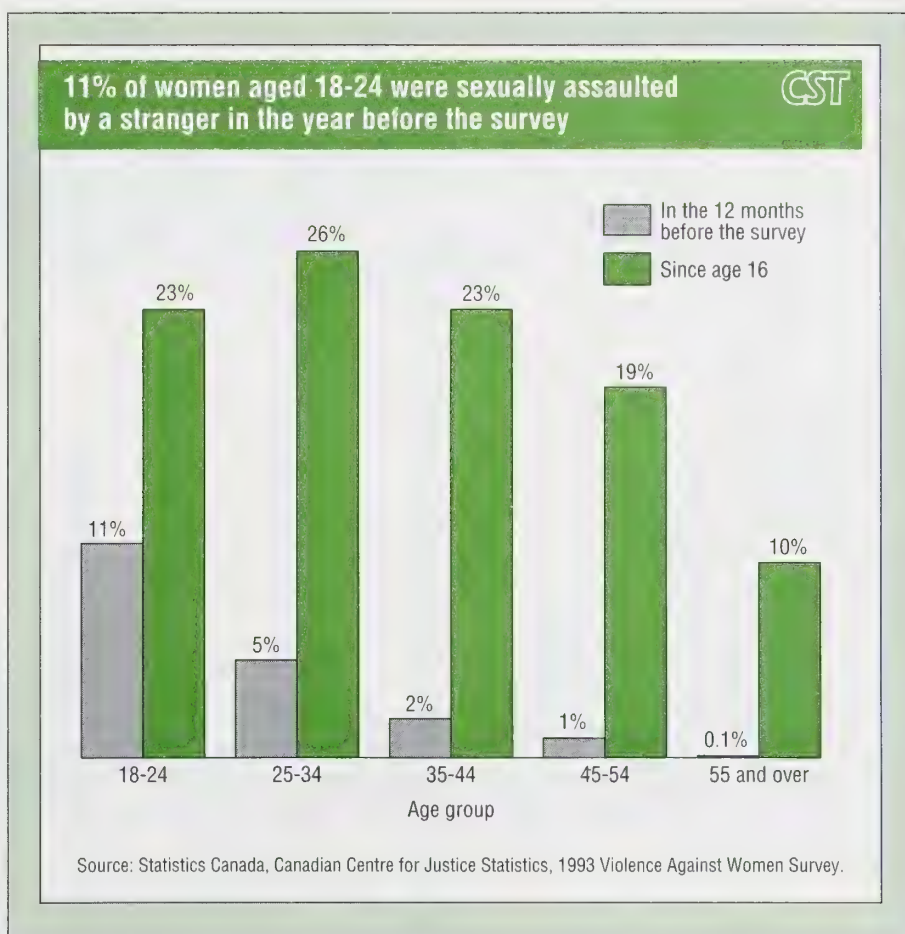
geographic pattern is consistent with that of violence against women by men who are known to the victim and with violent crime in general.

One-half of assaults by strangers occur in streets, bars or public buildings

Most assaults by strangers took place in some type of public area. For example, sexual assaults most often occurred on streets (20%), at bars or dances (15%), or in public buildings (13%). Still, relatively large proportions of sexual assaults by strangers took place in a home other than the victim's (12%) or in the woman's own home (7%). Although physical assaults by strangers occurred most often on streets (44%), many took place in public buildings (15%) or at the victim's place of work (14%).

Fear, anger and physical injuries common among victims

Following a personal victimization, almost all women must deal with emotions such as fear and anger. Overall, 88% of women who had been physically or sexually assaulted by a stranger reported experiencing at least one emotional effect. Among women who were physically assaulted by a stranger, 49% reported being more fearful, 40% said they were more cautious or aware, and 26% reported feelings of anger. Many sexual assault victims were also more cautious or aware (35%), angry (33%) or fearful (25%) after the incident. In addition, 11% of victims of sexual assault by a stranger reported feelings of shame or guilt.



Violence Against Women Survey

Between February and June 1993, Statistics Canada, on behalf of Health Canada, conducted a national survey (excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories) on male violence against women. Approximately 12,300 women aged 18 and over were interviewed by telephone about their experiences of sexual and physical violence since the age of 16, and about their perceptions of their personal safety.

This was the first national survey of its kind anywhere in the world. Most research in this area reflects the experiences of women who report violent incidents to the police or use the services of shelters and counselling services. This survey went directly to a random sample of women to ask them about their experiences, whether or not they had reported to the police or anyone else. Random selection helped ensure that the women who responded were statistically representative of all Canadian women and that the results could be generalized to the female population at large.

Measuring sexual assault Under the *Criminal Code*, a broad range of experiences, ranging from unwanted sexual touching to sexual violence that results in wounding or maiming, or that endangers the life of the victim, qualify as sexual assault. Estimates of sexual assault by strangers were derived through the following two questions:

☐ **Sexual attack –**

"Has a male stranger ever forced you or attempted to force you into any sexual activity by threatening you, holding you down or hurting you in any way?"

☐ **Unwanted sexual touching –**

"Has a male stranger ever touched you against your will in any sexual way, such as unwanted touching, grabbing, kissing or fondling?"

Incidents that met the above criteria were counted as sexual assaults whether or not they also involved physical assault.

Measuring physical assault Experiences of physical assault by men other than spouses were estimated through responses to the following questions:

"Now I'm going to ask you some questions about physical attacks you may have had since the age of 16. By this I mean any use of force such as being hit, slapped,

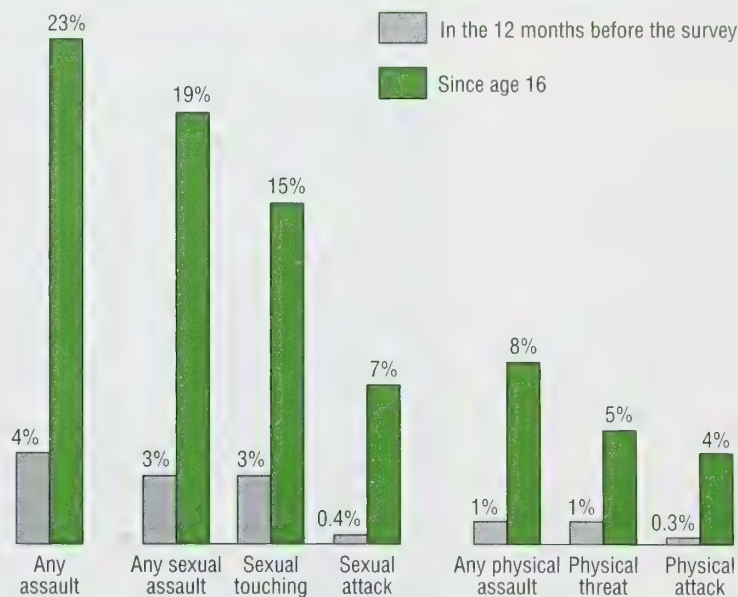
kicked, or grabbed to being beaten, knifed or shot. Has a male stranger ever physically attacked you?"

The *Criminal Code* considers threats of physical violence to be assaults, so long as they are face-to-face and the victim has a reasonable expectation that the action will occur. Responses that satisfied the following condition were also counted as physical assaults:

"The next few questions are about face-to-face threats you may have experienced. By threats I mean any time you have been threatened with physical harm since you were 16. Has a male stranger ever threatened to harm you? Did you believe he would do it?"

19% of women¹ were sexually assaulted by a stranger at least once since age 16

CST



¹ Women were able to report more than one type of incident.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993 Violence Against Women Survey.

Weapons, including knives, sharp or blunt objects and guns, were used in 18% of physical attacks, 16% of physical threats and 10% of sexual attacks by strangers. Perhaps partially because of the use of weapons, physical attacks by strangers were more likely to result in bodily injury (43%) than were sexual attacks (27%).

Few incidents reported to police or social services Most victims of physical (85%) and sexual assault (75%) by a stranger talked to someone, usually a family member or friend, about the incident. Relatively few assaults by strangers, however, were reported to the police: 37% of physical and only 9% of sexual assaults. Among those incidents where police were involved, about one-in-four resulted in the assailant being arrested or charged. Even fewer victims approached a social service agency for help after being assaulted. Social services were contacted after only 4% of sexual assaults.

There were a number of reasons why women who had been victimized by a stranger did not report the incident to the police. The reasons given most often included: the woman felt the incident was too minor (44%); she felt the police couldn't do anything (14%); she didn't want or need help (11%); she wanted to keep the incident private (9%); she was ashamed or embarrassed (9%); or she didn't want the police involved (9%). Reasons for not reporting the incident to the police differed by the nature of the assault. Of incidents involving threats or unwanted touching that were not brought to the attention of police, 52% were not reported because the woman felt that the incident was too minor. This reason was cited, however, in only 21% of physical and sexual attacks that were not reported to police.

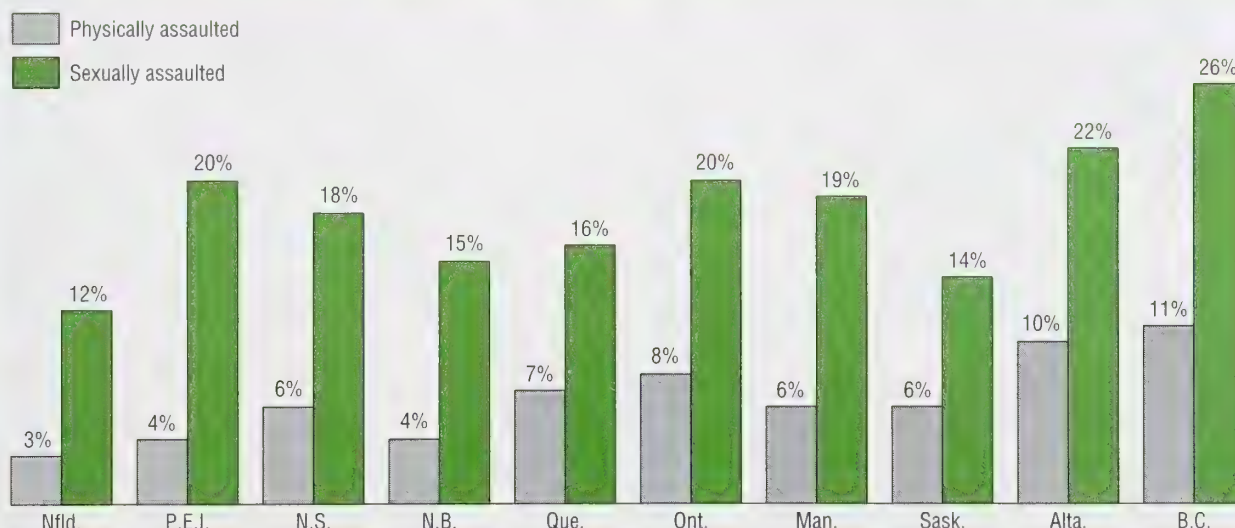
Women concerned for personal safety Many women are somewhat or very worried when out alone after dark, when using public transportation alone after dark, when walking alone to their car in a parking garage, or when home alone in the evening or at night. Concern for one's personal safety generally declines with age in each of these situations. For example, 69% of women aged 18-24 stated that they were somewhat (60%) or very worried (9%) when walking alone in their area after dark. Among women aged 65 and over, 53% were concerned for their personal safety when in this situation (43% were somewhat worried and 10% were very worried). Women in large urban centres were more likely than those in small urban centres or rural areas to be concerned for their personal safety, especially in situations involving public transportation and walking alone after dark.

Women who had experienced any type of assault by a stranger tended to be more concerned for their personal safety than women who had not. Among women in general, 65% of those who had experienced an assault by a stranger worried about walking alone in their area after dark (54% were somewhat worried and 11% were very worried). In comparison, 58% of women who had not had such an experience were concerned for their safety when in this situation (51% were somewhat worried and 7% were very worried).

Among women who used public transportation and who had experienced an assault by a stranger, 81% worried when waiting for or using public transportation after dark (55% were somewhat worried and 26% were very worried). In comparison, 74% of women who had not been assaulted by a stranger were worried when in this situation (54% were somewhat worried and 20% were very worried).

Proportion of women assaulted by a stranger since the age of 16 varied across the country

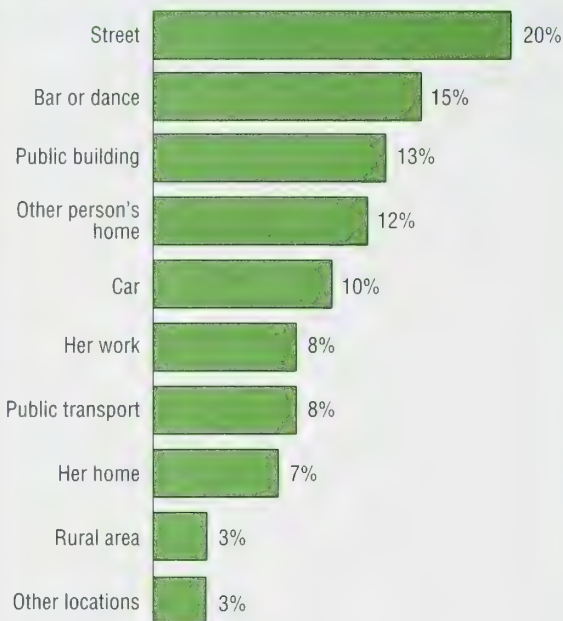
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Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993 Violence Against Women Survey.

20% of sexual assaults by a stranger occur on streets

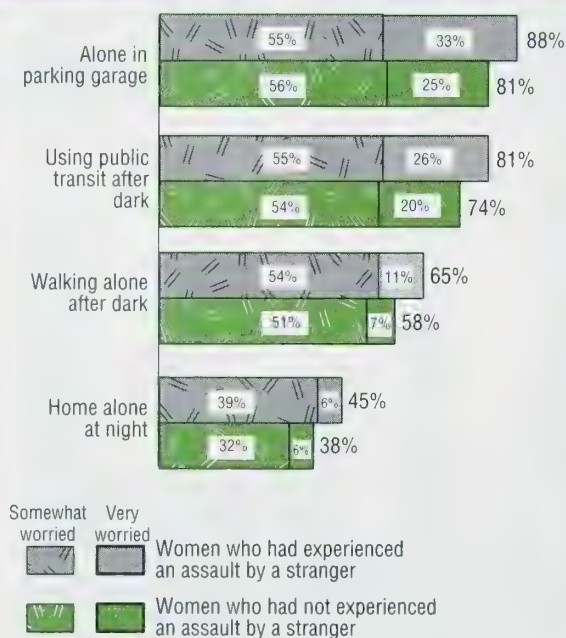
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Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993 Violence Against Women Survey.

Many women¹ worried when out alone after dark

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¹ Includes only women who reported being in these situations.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1993 Violence Against Women Survey.

Women taking self-protective measures Women are taking action, both personally and collectively, to increase their safety. On a personal level, 17% of Canadian women reported in 1993 that they "always" or "usually" carried something to defend themselves or to alert other people. Also, 31% of women tried to avoid walking past teenage boys or young men. Among women who drove, 60% checked the back seat of the car for intruders before getting in and 67% locked the car doors when driving alone. In addition, 11% of all Canadian women had taken a self-defence course in order to improve their personal safety. Generally, women who had experienced an assault (either by a stranger or a man they knew) were more likely to state that they "always" took protective measures than were women who had not had such an experience.

Women and men are also organizing community-based programs to help increase women's safety, especially at night. Women's groups in several large cities conduct safety audits of public areas. The objective of these audits is to identify places where lighting, signs and access for persons with disabilities, could be added or changed in order to improve women's safety.¹ Women's groups in many cities, often working in conjunction with police, also hold workshops and other events in order to increase public awareness of women's safety concerns. On many university campuses, safe-walk programs have been organized to provide women with assistance after dark. In some cities, public transportation authorities have initiated programs to help improve women's safety at night. As well, many workplaces, campuses and community centres now offer training in self-defence and preventative measures.

¹ For more information on safety audits contact METRAC, 158 Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 2T8.

Carol Strike was an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division when she wrote this article. For additional information, contact **Karen Rodgers**, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

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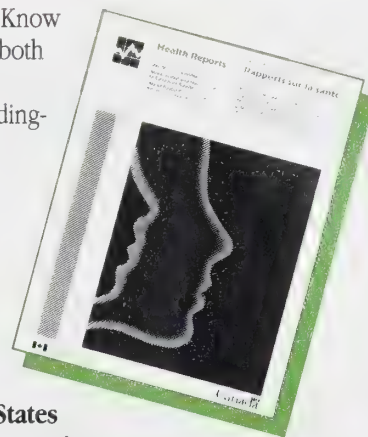
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HOUSING TENURE TRENDS 1951-1991

by Cynthia Silver and René Van Diepen

The proportion of Canadians renting their homes has changed little over the past forty years. Nonetheless, shifts in the size and composition of households, as well as in the age distribution of the population, have resulted in changes in housing needs. After World War II, many people were forming new households and there was a period of large-scale construction under government programs. During the baby boom that followed, there was a need for larger homes. Since the 1960s, however, household size has declined and the proportion of people living alone has grown. As a result, each decade until the 1980s, the proportion of households living in smaller, less expensive accommodations, increased. From 1981 to 1991, this proportion remained stable.

Generally, as household income increases, there is a transition from renting to home ownership. The decision to rent or buy a home, however, is also influenced by people's lifestyles. Some people living alone, for example, may rent because they are comfortable with apartment-style living and prefer to have less responsibility for household maintenance. Other households may prefer home ownership,

but continue to rent because they cannot afford to purchase a home. This reason may be more common today than in the past because home ownership has become relatively more expensive.

Renting more prevalent in urban areas By 1991, 37% of households were renting housing. This was down from 40% in 1971, but still higher than in 1951

(34%). One reason for the increase in renting between 1951 and 1971 was urbanization. Households in urban areas have always been more likely to rent than those in rural areas. In 1991, for example, 43% of urban households were renting housing, compared with 16% of rural households. This difference is partly because housing prices are much lower in rural areas.





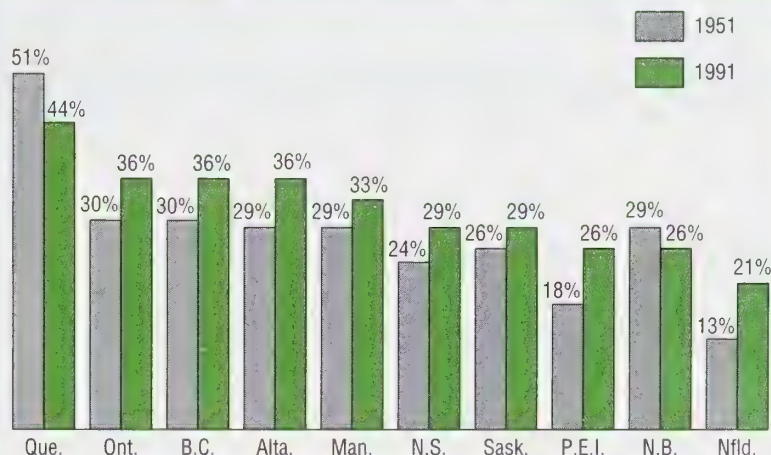
Prevalence of renting varies considerably by province Over the past forty years, Quebec has consistently had the highest proportion of renters, while Newfoundland has had the lowest. In 1991, 44% of Quebec households were renting housing, compared with 21% of those in Newfoundland. The other

three Atlantic provinces, as well as Saskatchewan, also had relatively low proportions of households renting housing (each under 30% in 1991).

One reason for these low proportions is that rural living is more common in these provinces. In 1991, a large proportion of the populations of the Atlantic provinces

Proportion of renter households has grown in all provinces except Quebec and New Brunswick

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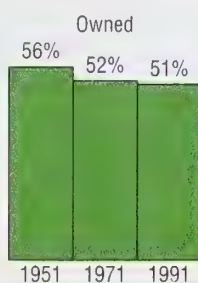


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

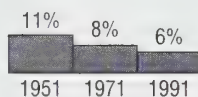
Proportion of households in single-detached houses has fallen since 1951

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Single-detached houses

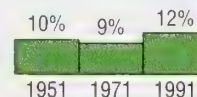


Rented

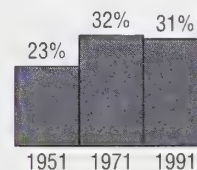


Other types

Owned



Rented



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

The proportion of households in urban areas increased from 63% in 1951 to 79% in 1971 and then remained stable. Urbanization resulted in a growth in high-density rental housing such as high-rise apartment buildings and low-rise developments. Consequently, the proportion of all households renting in multiple-unit dwellings rose from 23% in 1951 to 32% in 1971. Since then, the proportion has been stable.

(each over 45%) and Saskatchewan (37%) lived in rural areas. In the other provinces, the proportion of households living in rural areas ranged from 18% to 28%.

Renting has become more common in every province except Quebec and New Brunswick. In Ontario, for example, the proportion of households renting rose to 36% in 1991 from 30% in 1951. Over the same period, the proportion renting dropped to 44% from 51% in Quebec, a sharper decline than in New Brunswick (to 26% from 29%).

Single-detached homes still the majority, but the proportion has dropped

Most households still live in single-detached homes, although the proportion has declined since the 1950s. In 1991, 57% of all households were in owned or rented single-detached homes, down from 67% in 1951. Over the same period, the proportion of households living in other types of housing grew. By 1991, 31% of all households were renting other types of dwellings, up from 23% in 1951. Similarly, 12% of households in 1991

owned other types of dwellings, up from 10% in 1951.

One of the reasons the proportion of households in single-detached homes has declined may be that the relative cost of home ownership has increased. Average single-detached house prices were 3.3 times higher than average household incomes in 1991. In 1971, prices were only 2.2 times higher than average household incomes. Renting single-detached homes has also become less common. In 1991, only 10% of households living in single-detached homes were renting, down from 17% in 1951.

Condominiums, which are owned units mainly in apartment buildings, row-house developments and other multiple-unit dwellings, are a growing form of housing tenure. This type of housing is appealing to many buyers because it provides the investment benefits of home ownership without the same level of maintenance. In 1991, 14% of apartments in buildings of five or more storeys and 25% of row-houses were owner-occupied condominiums.

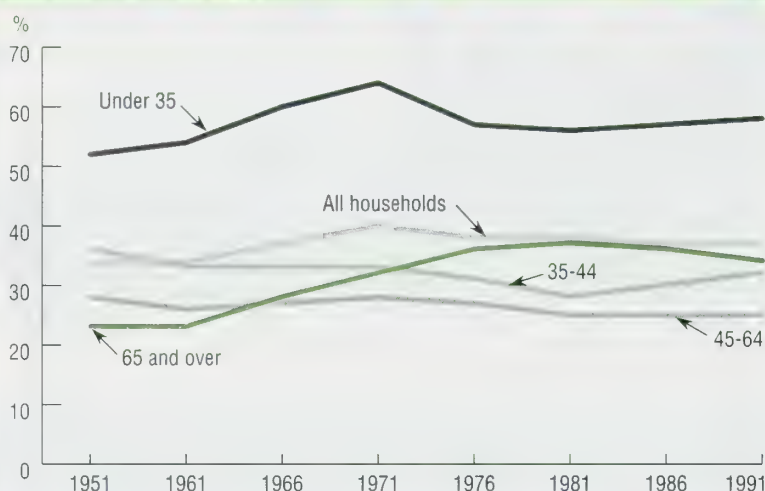
Young people and seniors most likely to rent People under age 25 (86%) or aged 25-34 (53%), who were responsible for maintaining their household, were the most likely to rent in 1991. That year, 32% of household maintainers aged 35-44, 25% of those aged 45-54 and 24% of those aged 55-64 were renting. Renting is more common among seniors, particularly the older elderly, than among those in the middle age groups. In 1991, 29% of those aged 65-74 and 41% of those aged 75 and over were renting housing.

Among seniors, the proportion renting their home was much higher in 1991 (34%) than in 1951 (23%). In contrast, among those under age 65, the proportion renting has remained stable over the past forty years. Consequently, seniors made up a larger share of all renters in 1991 (17%) than they did in 1951 (11%).

One reason young people and seniors are the most likely to rent is that they have the lowest incomes. The average household income for household maintainers under age 25 was \$26,040 in 1991. In each subsequent age group, average household income increased, rising to \$59,650 among those aged 45-54. In older age groups, average incomes fell, dropping to \$27,630 among those aged 75 and over.

Seniors much more likely to rent in 1991 than in 1951

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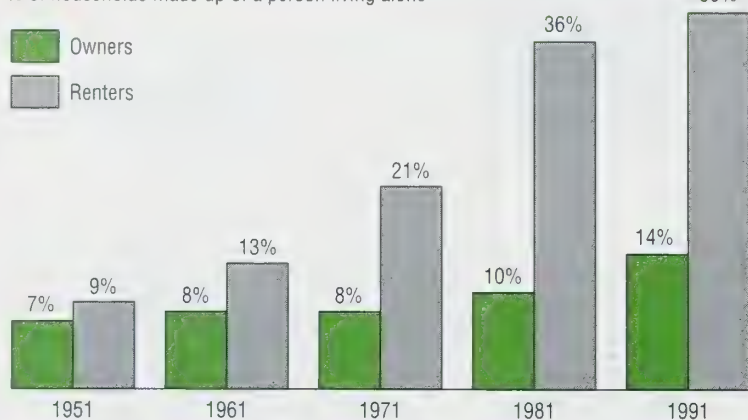
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Proportion of renters living alone four times higher in 1991 than in 1951

CST

% of households made up of a person living alone

Owners
Renters



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Rental housing development¹

According to CMHC's Starts and Completions Survey, apartment construction was much lower in 1993 (40,000 starts) than in 1971 (106,000 starts).² Some of the factors influencing rental housing construction include interest rates, the demand for this type of housing and construction costs.

Low interest rates may encourage some renters to buy a home. At the same time, the lower cost of borrowing money may encourage developers to build new rental units if there is a reasonable assurance of adequate returns on their investment. Interest rates were very high during the early and late 1980s, but have fallen sharply in recent years. The prime business loan rate was 5.9% in 1993, but was 19% in 1981 and 14% in 1990.

Despite lower interest rates, apartment housing starts have not grown. One reason for this is that the demand for rental housing, as measured by the vacancy rate, has fallen. Vacancy rates are the percentage of vacant units in market apartment buildings containing six or more units. Rising vacancy rates indicate an increase in available rental units. The vacancy rate averaged over all census metropolitan areas (CMAs) rose to 4.8% in 1993 from 1.4% in 1985.

Vacancy rates, however, have not increased in all CMAs. In those where rates have remained low over several years, such as in Vancouver, Victoria, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto and Hamilton, people may continue to have difficulty finding rental housing that suits their needs. Persistently low vacancy rates indicate that developers are not increasing the supply of rental housing, despite high demand.

Another reason why apartment starts have declined is that the gap between average rents and construction costs has grown. Overall prices, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, and the prices of new houses were both about 4 times higher in 1993 than in 1971. Rents, on the other hand, increased only 2.7 times. This made rental units more attractive to households, but their construction less attractive to developers.

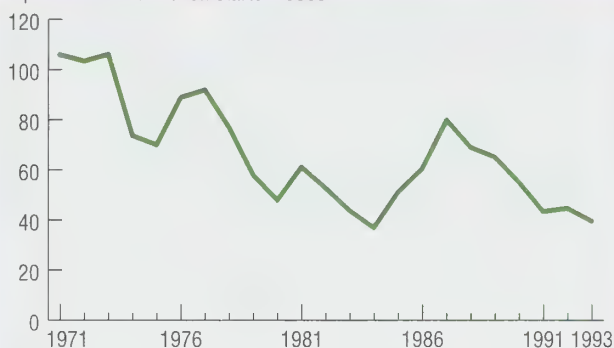
¹ A more detailed analysis of these relationships is published in "The Market for Rental Housing: Factors Influencing the Supply of Rental Housing" by René Van Diepen, the feature article in **The Consumer Price Index**, April 1993, Statistics Canada Catalogue 62-001.

² These are the number of dwelling units in apartment buildings where construction work has definitely begun, typically to the point where concrete footings have been poured.

Construction of apartments has dropped since 1971

CST

Apartment construction starts – 000s

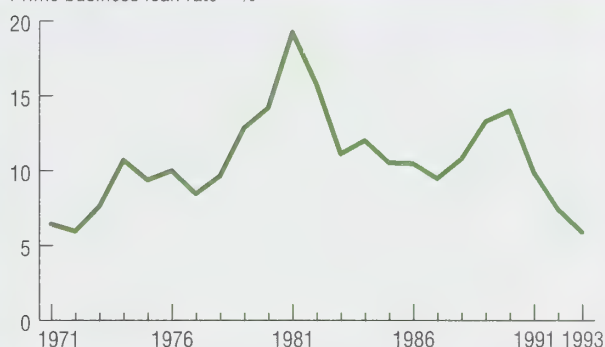


Source: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Interest rate has fallen since the late 1980s

CST

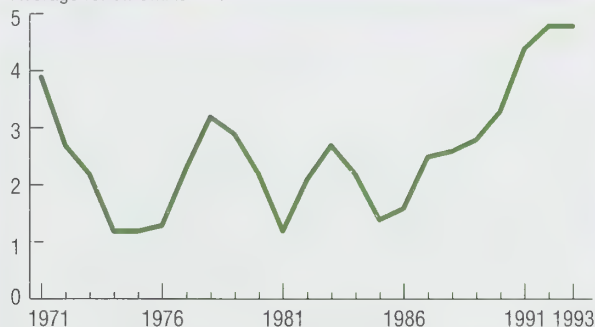
Prime business loan rate – %



Source: Bank of Canada.

Apartment vacancy rate has risen since the mid-1980s

CST

Average for all CMAs¹ – %¹ Census metropolitan areas.

Source: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.



Most living alone are renters People living alone, many of whom were seniors (36%), made up a larger share of all households in 1991 (23%) than they did in 1951 (7%). In addition, people living on their own were more likely to rent in 1991 (63%) than in 1951 (40%). Consequently, renter households were considerably more likely to be made up of only one person in 1991 (39%) than in 1951 (9%).

People living alone tend to have low household incomes. The average household income of one-person households in 1991, \$23,720, was about half that of all households. This may explain, at least in part, why renting is especially common among people living alone.

Crowded homes have all but disappeared In the past, crowding (having more than one person per room) was used as an indicator of housing adequacy. Since the 1970s, however, crowding has ceased to be a problem in most communities, although it remains an important issue in some. In 1951, rented homes (22%) were more likely than those that were owner-occupied (17%) to be crowded. Crowding did not drop substantially until 1971. That year, 9% of both owned and rented dwellings were crowded. By 1981, less than 3% of homes were crowded and by 1991 the proportion had fallen to 1%.

The virtual disappearance of crowding is closely related to a decline in household size. Among renters, the average number of people per household fell to 2 in 1991 from 4 in 1951, while the average number of rooms per rented dwelling remained unchanged at 4.5. Similarly, the average number of people in owner-occupied dwellings declined to 3 in 1991 from 4 in 1951. In these dwellings, the average number of rooms increased to 7 in 1991 from 5.8 in 1951.

Cynthia Silver is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends* and **René Van Diepen** is an analyst with National Accounts and Environment, Statistics Canada.

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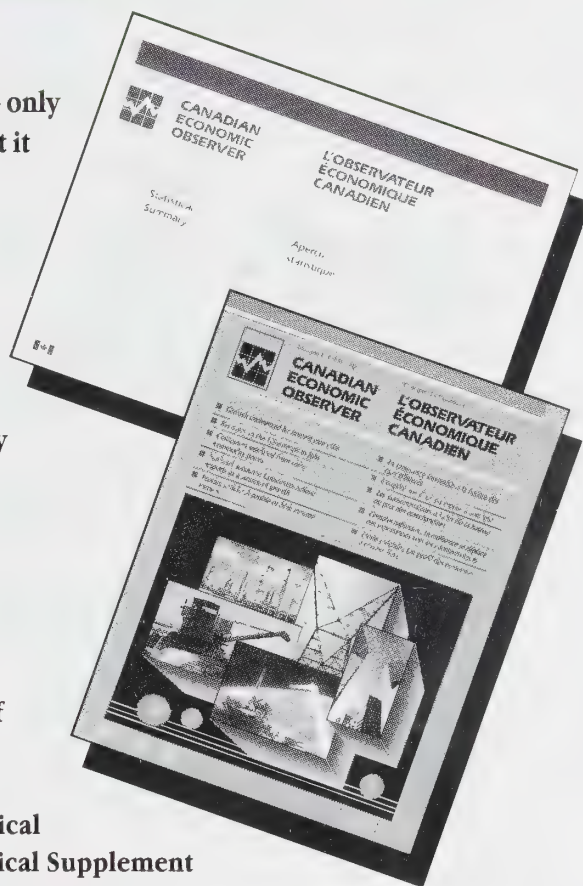
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HOUSING AFFORDABILITY PROBLEMS AMONG RENTERS

by Oliver Lo and Pierre Gauthier

Many Canadians with rental accommodation, particularly those living in cities with high rents, have difficulty paying for housing each month. In 1991, 35% of all households renting accommodation paid 30% or more of their income on housing (1.3 million households).¹ The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation considers these households as having a housing affordability problem. Although some home-owners also paid 30% or more of their household income on housing, most households with a housing affordability problem were renting (60%).

Those with low incomes – seniors and very young adults, lone-parent families and people living alone –

are particularly vulnerable to housing affordability problems. In 1991, 80% of all renter households with affordability problems had incomes below \$20,000. Although some households with low incomes have access to government subsidized housing and thus receive relief from high rent payments, most do not. In 1990, less than one-half a million Canadian households reported living in subsidized rental housing.²

Some households with problems affording housing juggle family budgets, reducing expenditures on other basic necessities, including food, in order to pay their rent. Others take accommodations that they are able to afford but that may not suit their needs. Some do both in order to avoid homelessness.

Urban tenants most likely to have housing affordability problems In 1991, most households (73%) who had difficulty affording rental housing lived in one of Canada's 25 largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs). Among these CMAs, housing affordability problems were most common in Victoria, Vancouver and

Sherbrooke. In these urban centres, 40% or more of all households renting housing had an affordability problem. Residents of Ottawa-Hull and Thunder Bay were the least likely to experience this problem. Still, about 31% of all households renting housing in these cities were affected. Affordability problems were less common

among tenants in rural areas. In 1991, 14% of all rural households had this problem.

Overall, tenants living in large CMAs were more likely to have had a problem affording rental housing in 1991 (35%) than ten years earlier (31%), although there were differences across Canada. In the large CMAs of central and southern Ontario, the incidence of housing affordability problems among renters increased steadily from 1981 to 1991. In contrast, affordability problems declined over that period in the large CMAs of Alberta and Saskatchewan. In the other CMAs, the incidence of rental housing affordability problems stayed the same or fell between 1986 and 1991, but remained higher in 1991 than in 1981.

Despite differences in rental markets, among urban centres where housing affordability problems had grown, some factors influencing this increase were similar. In these urban areas, the demand for housing, as measured by the vacancy rate, was high. In Toronto, for example, less than 2% of rental apartments in buildings with six or more units were vacant each year between 1987 and 1991. This high demand for rental housing contributed to an increase in rental prices. Many people's incomes did not rise as rapidly and thus a greater proportion of people began to experience problems affording housing.

Tenants can have a problem affording rental housing if their rent is too high or if their income is too low. In urban areas where average incomes were high in 1991, many tenants could support above-average rental costs. For example, only three of the ten CMAs with the highest average monthly rents (Vancouver, Victoria and Oshawa) were among the ten CMAs with the highest proportions of renters with affordability problems. In contrast, the seven other CMAs with the highest proportions of renters with affordability problems (Sherbrooke, Winnipeg, Trois-Rivières, St. Catharines-Niagara, Windsor, Saskatoon and Montreal) included some of the CMAs with the lowest average rents. These urban areas, however, also had some of the lowest average incomes.

¹ Expenditure on housing included rent and utilities.

² **Canadian Social Trends**, "Canadians in Subsidized Housing," Winter 1992.

Housing affordability problems, vacancy rates, rents and household incomes in CMAs¹

CST

CMA	% of renter households with affordability problem			Vacancy rate ²	Average monthly rent ³	Average renter household income
	1991	1986	1981			
		%		%		\$
Victoria	44	48	41	1	619	30,407
Vancouver	41	45	38	2	665	34,066
Sherbrooke	40	41	33	11	449	23,873
Winnipeg	38	39	33	7	478	25,735
Trois-Rivières	38	40	34	9	425	23,885
St. Catharines-Niagara	38	38	33	3	523	27,579
Saskatoon	37	42	39	6	450	25,098
Windsor	37	36	35	3	508	27,432
Montreal	36	36	29	8	514	29,259
Oshawa	36	32	28	3	658	35,947
London	36	35	32	4	554	30,134
Halifax	36	37	32	5	571	31,399
Saint John	35	39	30	5	428	26,953
Sudbury	35	35	28	1	513	29,400
St. John's	35	38	33	7	499	28,392
Edmonton	35	37	37	2	521	30,231
Regina	34	40	35	6	466	26,830
Calgary	34	36	40	4	589	32,968
Quebec	34	37	29	6	473	27,605
Hamilton	34	34	29	1	563	30,819
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	33	38	32	7	444	26,207
Toronto	33	31	28	2	703	39,083
Kitchener	33	30	28	4	573	31,908
Thunder Bay	31	32	30	1	504	29,272
Ottawa-Hull	31	31	28	2	601	35,199

¹ Private renter-occupied dwellings excluding farm and reserve dwellings.

² Average annual proportion of apartments vacant in privately initiated rental apartment structures of six units or more, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

³ Includes rent and utilities.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada; and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Most tenants with affordability problems had very low incomes

Among tenants with housing affordability problems in 1991, 80% had incomes below \$20,000. As would be expected, tenants with incomes this low were the most likely to have had difficulty finding affordable accommodation. For example,

64% of tenants with a household income between \$10,000 and \$19,999 had a housing affordability problem in 1991, compared with 26% of tenants with incomes between \$20,000 and \$29,999.

The average rent of tenants with incomes between \$10,000 and \$19,999 who had problems affording housing in 1991 was

\$574 per month. In contrast, the average monthly rent of tenants with incomes this low who did not have a housing affordability problem was only \$270. Some of these low-income households who paid very low rents likely benefited from housing subsidy programs. Others may have been living in less desirable neighbourhoods or in small quarters.

Young people and seniors are more likely than others to have low incomes. It is not surprising, therefore, that renter households headed by people in these age groups were more likely than others to have difficulty affording housing. In 1991, 47% of renters under age 25 and 43% of those aged 65 and over had an affordability problem. In comparison, only 29% of those aged 25-34 had this type of problem.

Although those aged 25-34 were the least likely to have had an affordability problem, they accounted for the largest proportion of renter households with this problem. In 1991, of those with affordability problems, 26% were aged 25-34. Seniors (22%) and those aged 35-44 (18%) also accounted for a large proportion of households with this problem. Young people under age 25 (14%) and those aged 45-54 and 55-64 (10% each) accounted for smaller proportions.

Households with a problem affording rental housing were more likely than others to rely on income from government transfer payments, such as Old Age Security, Social Assistance or Unemployment Insurance. In 1991, 85% of seniors with a rental housing affordability problem had government transfer payments as their major source of income. That year, 61% of seniors without an affordability problem relied on income from this source. Among people under age 65 with a problem affording rental housing, 40% had transfer payments as their major source of income. In contrast, only 7% of renters that age without a problem affording housing relied on transfer payments.

Lone parents and people living alone vulnerable

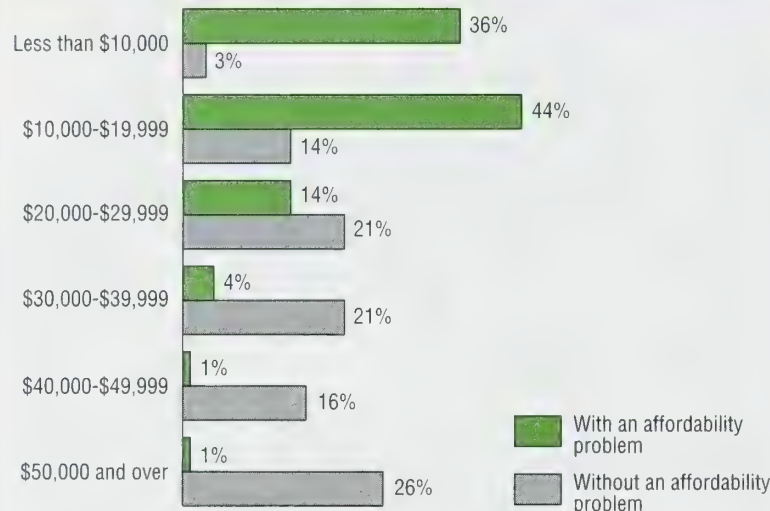
One-half of lone parents had a problem affording rental housing. This problem was particularly common among young lone parents (76% of household maintainers under age 25 and 65% of those aged 25-29).

People living alone were also vulnerable to housing affordability problems (44%).

80% of renter households with an affordability problem in 1991 had an income of less than \$20,000

CST

Household income, 1990

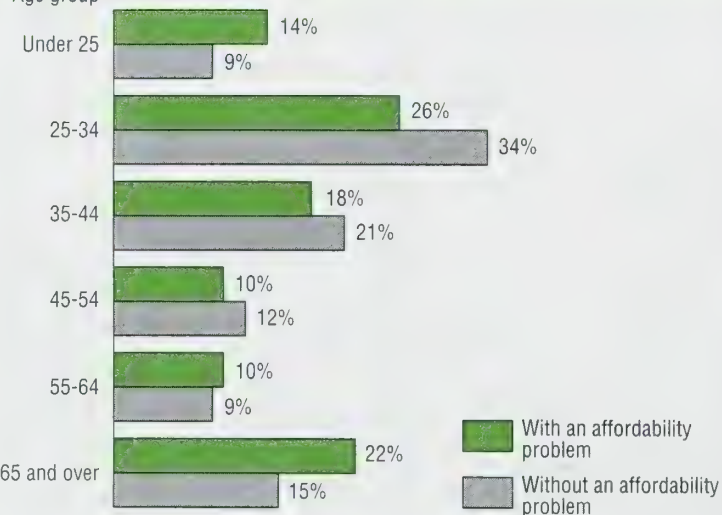


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

26% of renter households with an affordability problem were headed by people aged 25-34 in 1991

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Age group



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

In this group, young people and those aged 55 and over were the most affected. In 1991, 60% of renters under age 25 and 51% of those aged 55-64 and aged 65 and over who lived alone had problems affording their housing.

Among couples renting housing, a similar proportion of those with and without children at home had a problem affording rental housing in 1991 (about 21%). Couples under age 25 with children at home were the most likely to have had this problem (34%). Affordability problems were also common among senior couples without children at home (30%).

People living alone and lone-parent families were not only the most likely to have had an affordability problem, they also formed the largest share of all those with this problem. In 1991, people living alone accounted for 49% of all households with affordability problems, while lone-parent households accounted for 20%. The remaining 31% of households were couples, two-parent families and other types of households.

Almost 10% of rented housing needed major repairs

Tenants with affordability problems were more likely to live in apartments (75%) than in single-family homes (13%). This was also true among renters without affordability problems.

There is no information on the quality of these dwellings or the neighbourhoods in which they were located. However, when tenants were asked whether their home was in need of major repairs³ the same proportion of those with affordability problems as those without said yes (9% each). Of those with rental housing affordability problems, lone parents (12%) and couples with children (11%) were the most likely to report that their apartment needed major repairs. Those living alone were the least likely to report this problem (7%).

About 25% of tenants with affordability problems reported living in a dwelling with only three rooms. Although this proportion

was high, it was similar to the proportion for renters who did not have a problem affording housing (20%). Very few tenants, either with (7%) or without (5%) housing affordability problems, lived in dwellings with less than three rooms.

Renters with affordability problems more transient In the year before the 1991 Census, 37% of households with problems affording rental housing moved from one dwelling to another. This was higher than the proportion among renter households without affordability problems (31%) and much higher than the proportion among home owners (11%).

Among households with problems affording rental housing, couples with children (44%) and lone parents (42%) were the most likely to have moved during that one-year period. Tenants with affordability problems who lived alone were the least likely to have moved (30%).

Social housing is one response to affordability problems

The number of people in the groups most vulnerable to housing affordability problems – lone parents, people living alone and seniors – is growing. As a result, the need for adequate, affordable housing will likely continue to increase. One response to this problem is the construction of social housing.

In Ontario, where the incidence of housing affordability problems grew steadily in many urban areas during the 1980s, social housing construction has increased. Of all multiple-unit dwellings (apartments, row-houses and semi-detached homes) under construction in Ontario, 39% in 1993 were being built for social housing.⁴ This proportion was up from between 10% and 14% each year during the late 1980s. In contrast, in the other provinces combined, the proportion of housing construction that was for social housing remained low from 1986 to 1993, ranging from 3% to 7% each year.

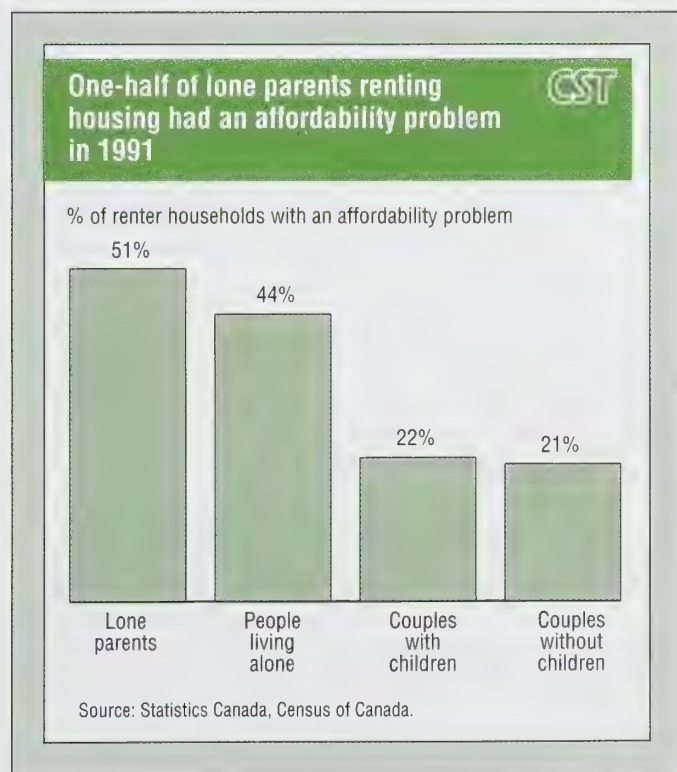
As a result, of all multiple-unit dwellings under construction for social housing in Canada, 83% in 1993 were being built in Ontario. During the late 1980s, the proportions were lower, ranging between 48% and 67% each year.

³ Households were asked whether their dwelling needed major repairs. Examples were defective plumbing or electrical wiring, and structural repairs to walls, floors or ceilings.

⁴ Includes activities under the *National Housing Act*, such as loans to non-profit corporations, public housing, and federal-provincial rental and sales housing projects.

Oliver Lo and **Pierre Gauthier** are analysts with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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SPORT PARTICIPATION

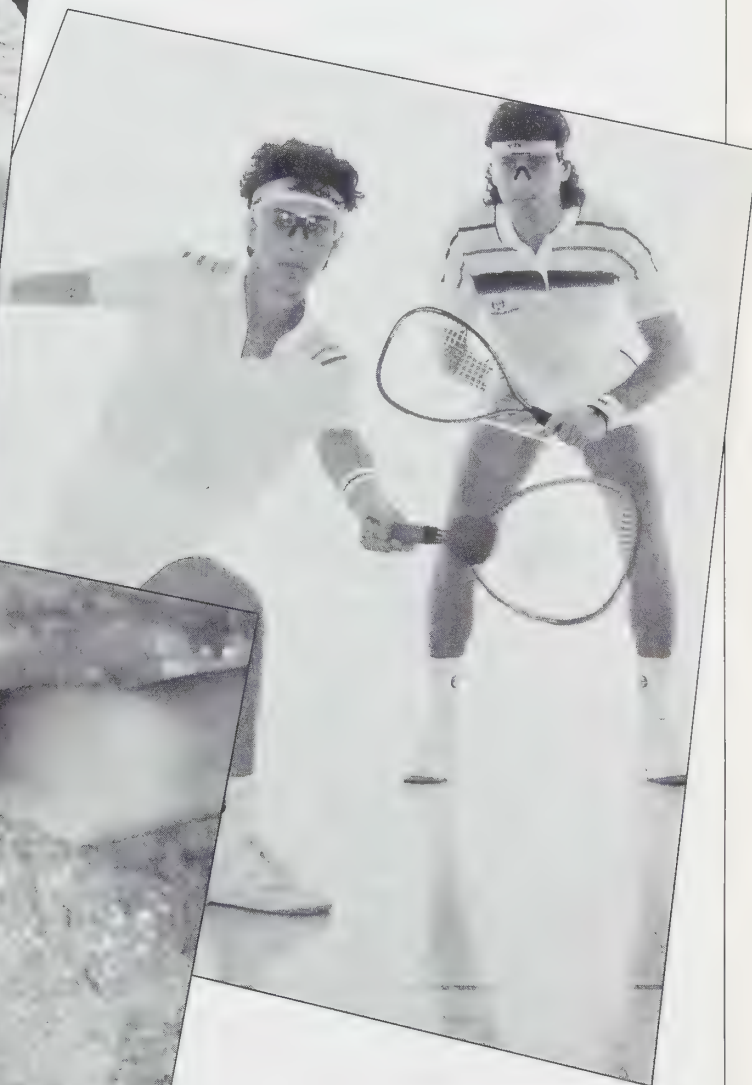
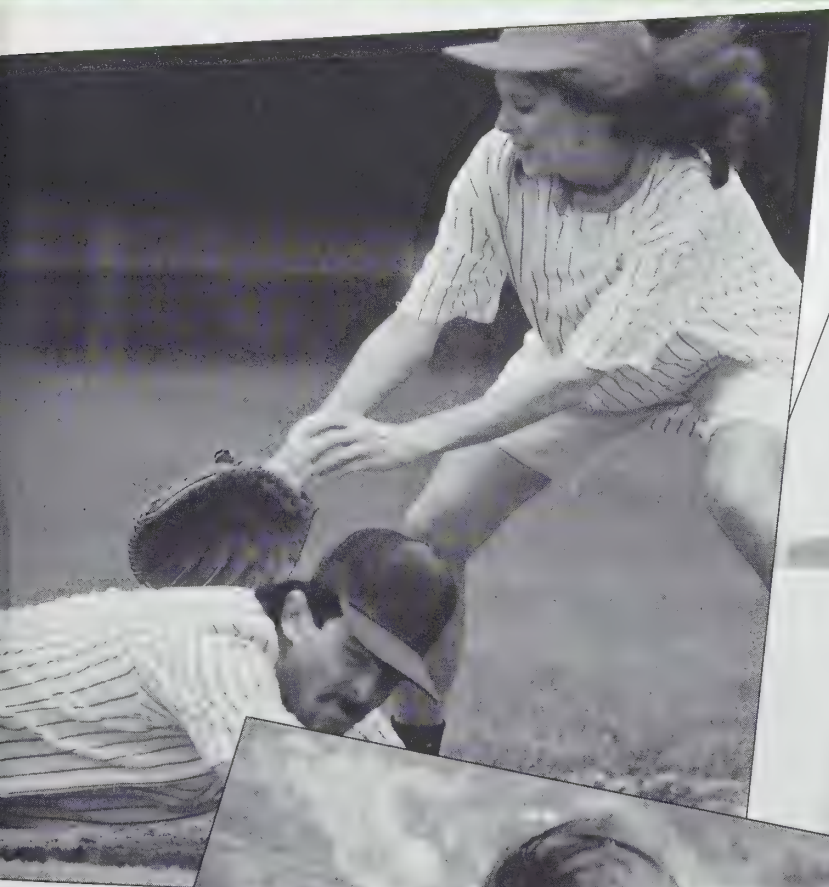
by Jean-Pierre Corbeil

Participation in amateur sport is one of the ways Canadians keep physically active and challenge their abilities. It is also an important facet of this country's culture and identity, and contributes to the social life of Canadian communities.

Young men are much more likely to regularly participate in sport than are young women. This gender difference exists within all age groups, though the gap narrows with age. Also, Canadians who participated in organized sport during their school years are more likely than others to remain physically active later in life. Nonetheless, many sport activities are enjoyed by Canadians of all ages, both men and women.

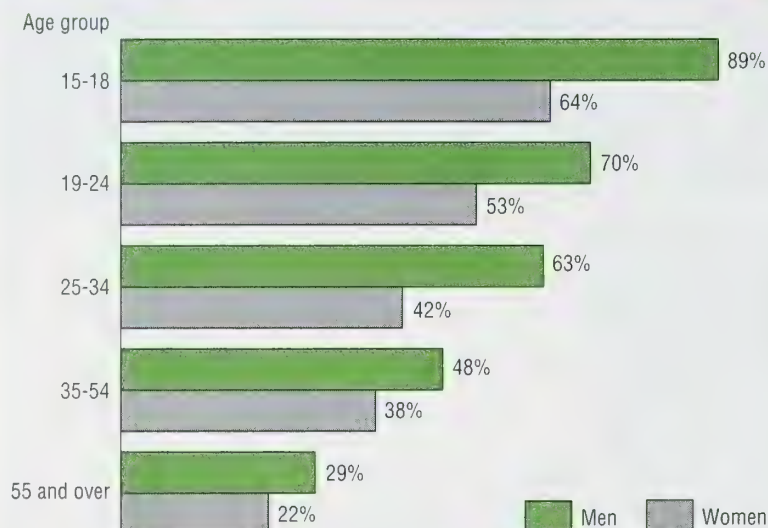


ATION IN CANADA



Young men are most likely to participate in sport

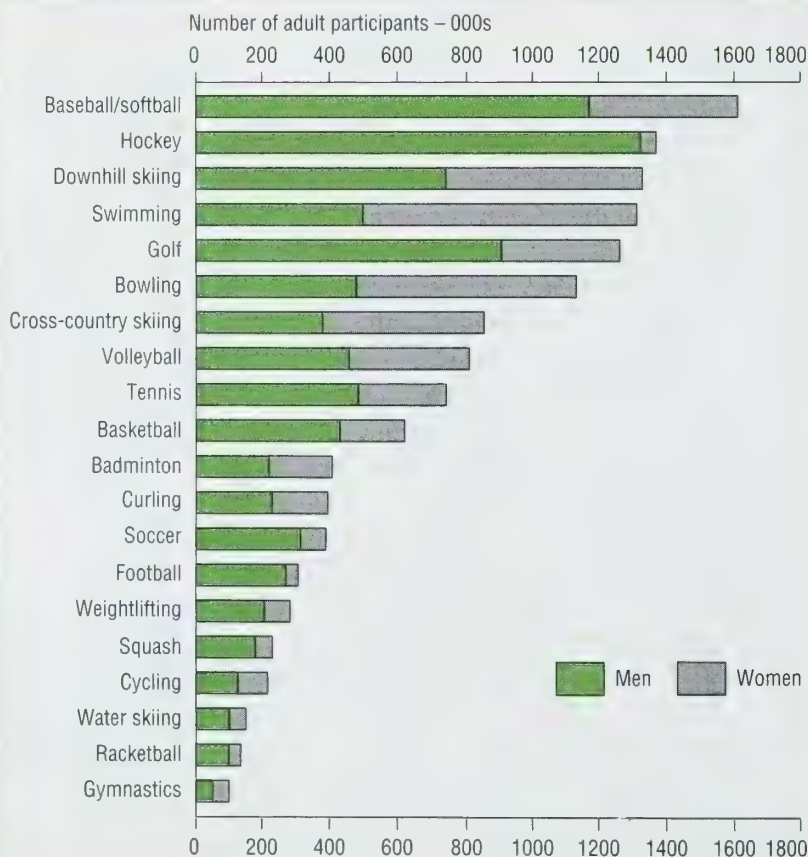
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Source: Statistics Canada, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, 1992 General Social Survey.

Top sports in Canada

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, 1992 General Social Survey.

45% of Canadians active in sport

According to the 1992 General Social Survey (GSS), 9.6 million Canadians aged 15 and over (45%) indicated that they regularly participated in one or more sports. Regular participation involves taking part in any sport at least once a week during a season or a certain period of the year.

Sports that were individually categorized on the survey include those funded by Sport Canada, such as baseball and softball, hockey, downhill skiing, swimming, golf and bowling. These sports are extremely popular, each with over 1 million adult Canadians taking part. In addition, about one-quarter of people who reported being regularly active in sport were involved in other physical activities such as jogging, recreational cycling or aerobics.

Sport most popular among youth, but many sports are lifetime activities

Given that most young people are still in school where they have many opportunities to engage in sport, it is not surprising that they had the highest sport participation rate. In 1992, 77% of people aged 15-18 participated regularly, compared with only 53% of those aged 25-34, and 25% of those aged 55 and over.

Basketball, volleyball, hockey, baseball/softball, and, to some extent, downhill skiing tend to be younger people's sports. For example, 74% of people who played basketball and 65% of those who played volleyball were under age 25. On the other hand, people of all ages were involved in bowling, cross-country skiing, golf, tennis and curling. About two-thirds of cross-country skiers (64%), golfers (65%) and curlers (66%) were aged 35 and over.

Most sports dominated by men

Overall, men were much more likely to participate in sport (52%) than were women (38%). The gender gap was greatest among teenagers, but narrowed considerably with age. In 1992, 89% of men aged 15-18 and 64% of women that age were active in sport. Among people aged 55 and over, however, 29% of men and 22% of women participated regularly in sport.

Men made up the majority of participants in about three-quarters of the sports recognized by Sport Canada that had 40,000 or more regular participants. Hockey was

almost completely male-dominated, with men accounting for 97% of Canada's 1.4 million adult hockey players. Men also formed a substantial majority (over 70%) of those playing rugby, football, soccer, squash, racquetball, baseball/softball and golf, and those doing weightlifting.

Women outnumbered men in only a few sports, and in only two did women make up more than 70% of participants. Almost all figure skaters were women (97%), as were 74% of equestrians. Total involvement in these two sports was relatively low, however, with 46,000 and 44,000 participants, respectively. Other sports in which women accounted for the majority of participants included swimming (62%), bowling (58%) and cross-country skiing (56%).

More sport participation among those with higher incomes

Being active in sport can be expensive because of equipment, coaching or facility costs. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that adults with higher household incomes were more likely to take part in sport than those with lower incomes. Among people in households with an annual income of \$80,000 or more, 63% were sport participants, compared with only 31% of those with household incomes less than \$20,000.

People in higher income households were more likely to downhill ski, to play golf, tennis, hockey, and to some extent, baseball/softball. Income had less impact, however, on participation in cross-country skiing, volleyball, basketball, curling and bowling.

Sport preferences vary across the country

Adults in British Columbia were the most likely to regularly participate in sport (53%), followed by those in Quebec (49%) and Nova Scotia (47%). At 36%, the participation rate in Newfoundland was the lowest among the provinces.

The sports with the most participants – baseball/softball and hockey – were prevalent across most of the country. Many of the other top sports, however, owed much of their popularity to high participation rates in particular regions. For example, people in Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia, provinces with a variety of major downhill ski resorts, were the most likely to downhill ski. Quebec

residents were also the most likely to cross-country ski.

Golf was most popular in each of the Western provinces. Residents of British Columbia, followed by those in Quebec,

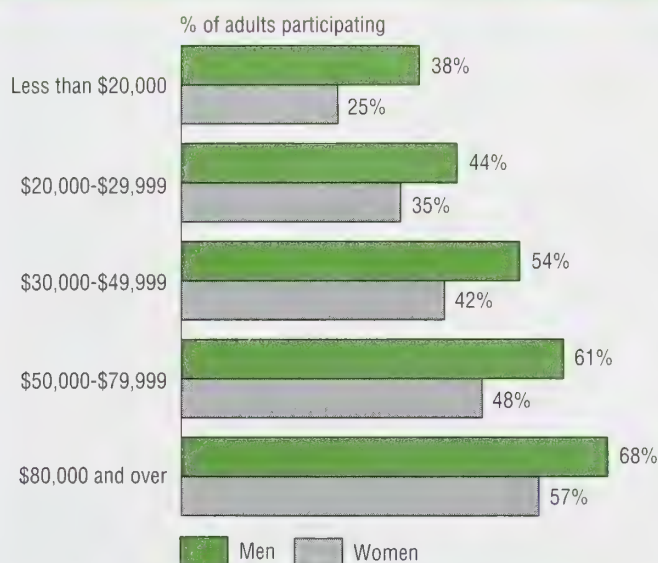
were most likely to play tennis. Swimming was also most prevalent in these two provinces.

Basketball was most common in Newfoundland, with Saskatchewan having the



Sport participation increases with household income

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, 1992 General Social Survey.

1992 General Social Survey

The primary source of data for this article was the 1992 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use. This survey (Cycle 7 of the GSS) collected data on time use, unpaid work and participation in sport and cultural activities on a monthly basis from January to December 1992. Nationally, a total of 9,815 people aged 15 and over completed the 30-minute telephone interview. This represented a 77% response rate.

Questions on sport participation were sponsored by Sport Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage. Sport participation in this article was determined on the basis of responses of people aged 15 and over to the following question:

- ☐ "During the past 12 months did you regularly participate in any sports such as - volleyball, bowling or skiing?"

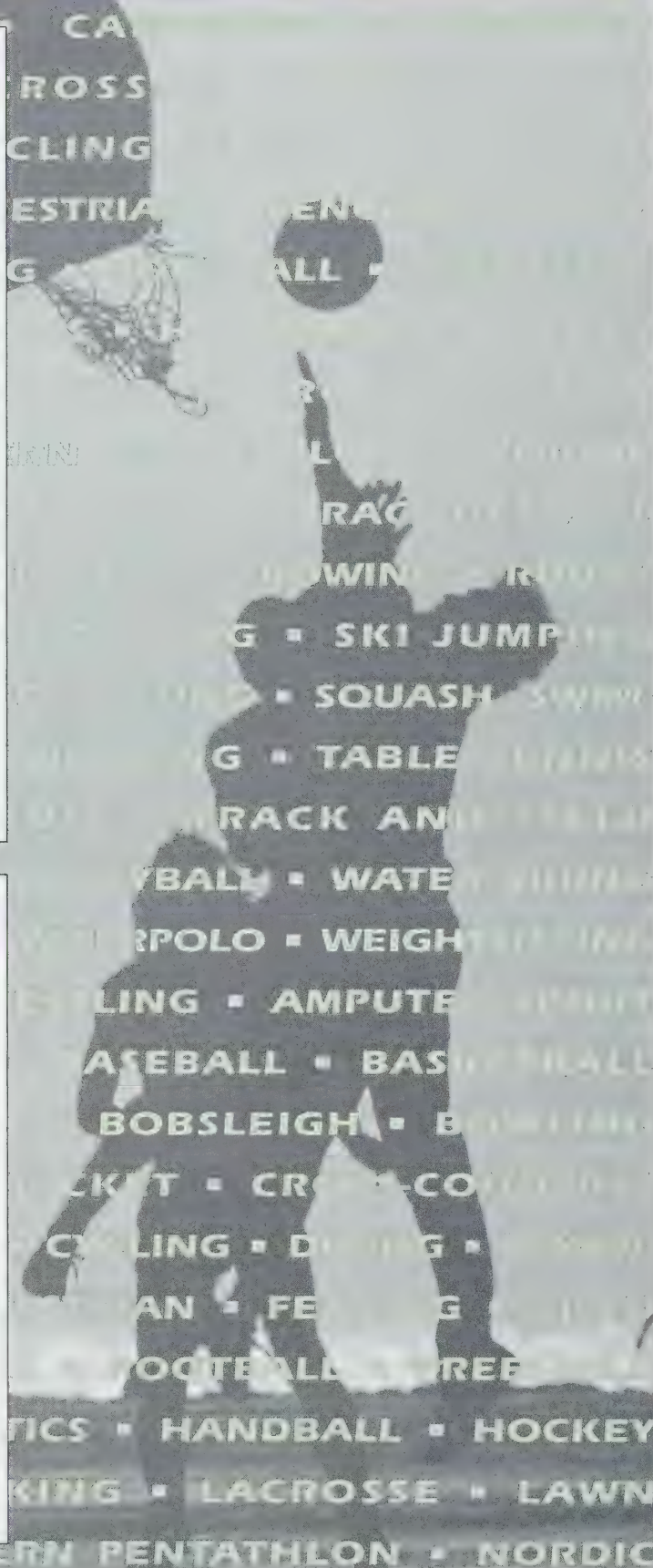
Those who said yes were asked about the specific sports in which they participated. Questions about participation in organized sport were also included.

Many sports, including those funded by Sport Canada in 1992-93, were separately categorized. Other activities, however, such as hiking, fishing, jogging, aerobics and cycling for transportation or recreation, were not separately identified, but were included in the calculation of overall rates of sport participation.

Sports funded by Sport Canada, 1992-93

The Department of Canadian Heritage, through Sport Canada provides funding to many of the amateur sports popular in this country. These sports are:

- ☐ Amputee Sport, Archery, Badminton, Baseball, Basketball, Biathlon, Blind Sport, Bobsleigh, Bowling, Boxing, Canoeing, Cricket, Cross-Country/Nordic Skiing, Curling, Cycling, Diving, Downhill/Alpine Skiing, Equestrian, Fencing, Field Hockey, Figure Skating, Football, Freestyle Skiing, Golf, Gymnastics, Handball, Hockey, Judo, Karate, Kayaking, Lacrosse, Lawn Bowling, Luge, Modern Pentathlon, Nordic Combined Skiing, Orienteering, Racquetball, Rhythmic Gymnastics, Ringette, Rowing, Rugby, Sailing/Yachting, Shooting, Ski Jumping, Soccer, Softball, Speed Skating, Squash, Swimming, Synchronized Swimming, Table Tennis, Team Handball, Tennis, Track and Field, Volleyball, Water Skiing, Waterpolo, Weightlifting, Wheelchair Sport, Wrestling.



next highest participation rate. In addition, Saskatchewan had the highest rate of volleyball players.

Curling was concentrated in the Prairie provinces, especially Saskatchewan. Bowling, on the other hand, was particularly favoured in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Organizations an important factor in amateur sport Almost half (46%) of

adult Canadians active in sport participated in at least one sport through a club, a league or an organization. The proportion was highest in Saskatchewan (66%) and lowest in Quebec (33%).

Curling (95%), karate (89%) and rugby (84%) were the three sports with the highest proportion of people participating through a club, community program or sport organization. In contrast, cross-country skiing (9%), downhill skiing (11%)

and swimming (17%) were least likely to be pursued through an organization.

People who participated in sport at school were more likely to remain physically active During their school years, 60% of Canadians had been involved in organized school sport. Over one-half (52%) of adults who had taken part in school sport in their youth reported participating regularly in sport in the year before the survey, compared with only 37% of those who had not.

Consistent with the overall gender gap in sport participation, men (68%) were considerably more likely than women (53%) to have played school sports. Among people who had participated in sport during their school years, 58% of men and 44% of women were still regularly active, compared with 44% of men and 33% of women without a history of school sport.

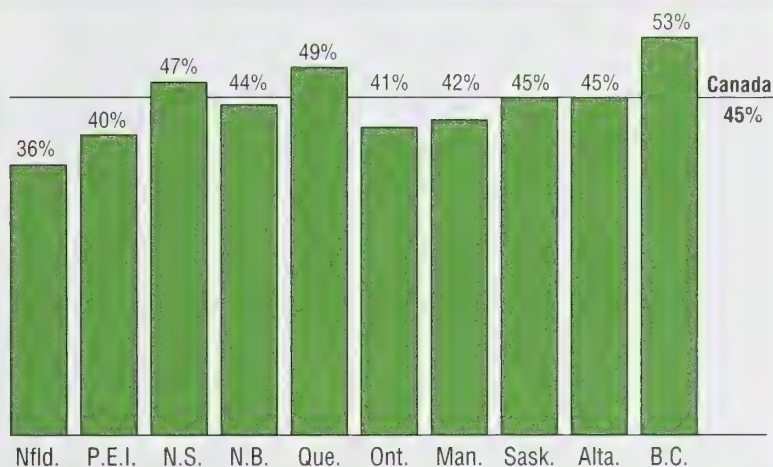
Many Canadians do not have time to participate in sport Overall, 55% of Canadians aged 15 and over indicated they did not regularly take part in sport. Among non-participants, 73% gave at least one reason for not taking part in sports. Over one-third (37%) of these people cited a lack of time. Other commonly reported reasons were no interest (26%), health (19%), age (15%) and disability (5%).

Lack of time was the reason mentioned most often by non-participants between 19 and 54 years of age. Those aged 19-34 were the most likely to say they lacked the time to participate regularly in sport – about 63% of men and 55% of women. Lack of interest was the most common reason among teenaged non-participants. Among those aged 15-18, 50% of men and 45% of women reported a lack of interest in sport as a reason for not participating. Not surprisingly, people aged 55 and over who did not take part in sport were most likely to mention age (39%) and health (35%) reasons.

Jean-Pierre Corbeil was an analyst with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada when he wrote this article. For additional information, contact Sport Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage.

A large proportion of adult Canadians across the country participate regularly in sport...

CST



...but the sports played are different

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	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
% of adults participating										
Baseball/softball	7	7	10	6	5	9	8	9	9	7
Hockey	6	7	9	5	7	7	5	8	7	4
Downhill skiing	3	4	4	6	9	5	3	4	8	7
Swimming	2	6	6	3	10	5	4	2	2	9
Golf	n/a ¹	4	4	4	5	5	8	9	8	8
Cross-country skiing	4	5	4	5	7	3	3	2	4	2
Volleyball	6	n/a ¹	3	6	2	4	5	8	6	4
Tennis	n/a ¹	n/a ¹	2	n/a ¹	4	3	3	3	2	6
Basketball	6	n/a ¹	4	3	1	4	3	5	4	3
Bowling	4	5	10	13	4	6	6	6	4	4
Curling	n/a ¹	n/a ¹	n/a ¹	2	n/a ¹	1	6	10	4	2

¹ Data suppressed due to high sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, 1992 General Social Survey.

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WORKING Mothers

by Ron Logan and Jo-Anne Belliveau



One of the most significant trends in the Canadian labour market in recent years has been the increased participation of mothers, especially those with preschool-age children. In addition, a greater proportion of these mothers are working full-time. Although the increase in full-time employment among mothers is partly due to increased flexibility in the workplace and to the availability of child-care services, economic necessity is also a major factor in many mothers' decisions to work full-time.

Despite full-time employment, most mothers in dual-earner families still have primary responsibility for child care, as well as for most household chores. As a result, employed mothers with young children are more likely than other women and men to experience a high level of stress because of competing or conflicting job and family responsibilities.

Increased involvement of mothers in labour force

In the past, women without children were responsible for most of the increase in the number of women in the labour force (that is, who either had a job or who were looking for one). Between 1971 and 1981, for example, women without children accounted for 52% of the increase. In contrast, between 1981 and 1991, mothers with children at home¹ were responsible for most of the rise (60%) in the number of women in the labour force.

In 1991, 68% of mothers with children at home were in the labour force, up from 52% in 1981. Over the same period, the participation rate of women without children at home rose only slightly. As a result, mothers with children at home made up a larger proportion of the 6.5 million women in the labour force in 1991 (49%) than they had ten years earlier (45%). This occurred despite a slight decline in the overall proportion of women with children at home (to 43% from 45%).

Participation rate of mothers living with their spouse now higher than that of lone mothers

In 1991, 70% of mothers living with their marital or common-law partner were in the labour force, up from 52% in 1981. The participation rate for lone mothers did not rise as quickly, however, climbing to 60% from 54%. Lone mothers accounted for almost the same proportion of mothers in the labour force in 1991 (15%) as they did in 1981 (14%).

Mothers may be raising their children on their own because they are divorced, separated, single or widowed. Of lone mothers, those who were divorced were most likely to be in the labour force in 1991 (76%), followed by those who were separated and those who were single. Only one-third of widowed lone mothers

were in the labour force. This is not surprising given that they tend to be older and in an age range where participation rates generally are low.

More than two-thirds of young mothers in labour force

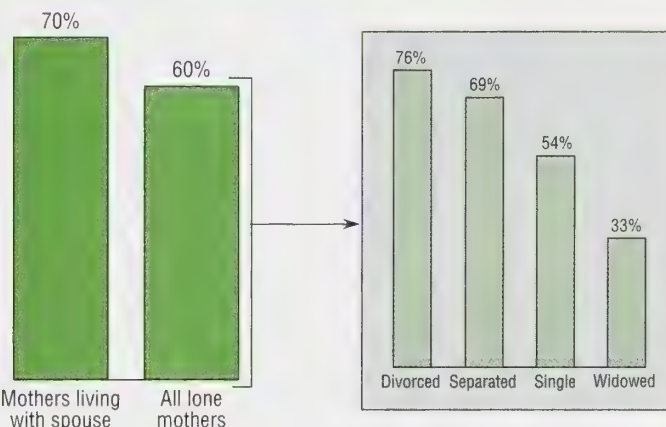
During the 1980s, because of the sharp increase in the labour force participation rate of mothers, the gap between the participation rates of

mothers with children at home and other women narrowed. Nonetheless, in 1991, mothers under age 45 were still less likely to be in the labour force than women that age without children at home. Among women aged 25-34, for example, mothers' participation rate was 70% in 1991, while that for women without children at home was 91%. Similarly, among women aged 35-44, the participation rate for mothers

Divorced lone mothers were most likely to be in the labour force¹ in 1991

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% in the labour force



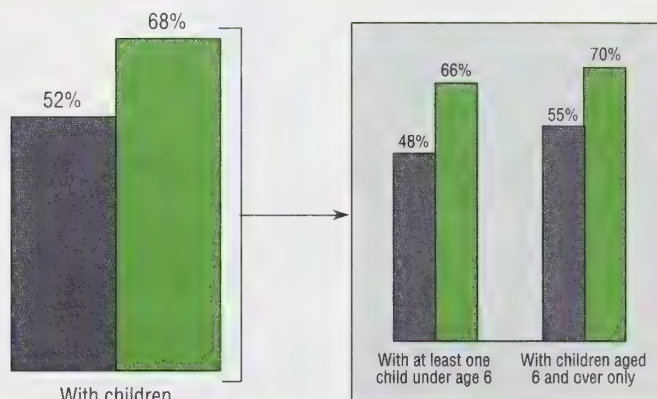
Mothers with children at home

¹ Includes people who were either employed or unemployed during the week before Census Day.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Two-thirds of mothers with children at home were in the labour force¹ in 1991

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% in the labour force



■ 1981 ■ 1991

¹ Includes only mothers whose children are still at home. Children are defined as all blood, step- or adopted sons and daughters of any age who have never married and are living with their parent(s).
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

was 78% in 1991, compared with 85% for women without children at home.

Contrary to the pattern among younger women, however, mothers aged 45 and over had a higher labour force participation rate than women that age without children living at home. Among those aged 45-54, the rate for mothers was only slightly higher (72%) than that for women

without children at home (71%) in 1991. Among women aged 55-64, the difference between the labour force participation rate of mothers (43%) and that of women without children at home (37%) was greater.

Increase in participation rate highest among mothers with preschool-age children In 1991, 66% of mothers with

at least one child under age 6 were in the labour force, up sharply from 48% only one decade earlier. The largest increases in participation rates occurred among women aged 35-44 and those aged 45-54 with preschool-age children. By 1991, of those with at least one child under age 6, 69% of the 360,915 mothers aged 35-44 were in the labour force, up from 47% in 1981. Although there were few mothers aged 45-54 with a preschool-age child in 1991 (10,615), their participation rate also rose sharply to 61% from 37%.

Working full-time increasingly common among mothers

Many women leave the labour force temporarily when they have a child, but return once their childrearing responsibilities have lessened. Many mothers, regardless of their children's age, work full-time because of financial pressures or personal choice, or because they are in an occupation that is not conducive to working part-time. With the additional responsibilities of raising children, however, many adjust their work schedules in order to work part-time, on weekends or in the evenings.

Mothers are increasingly likely to be working full-time. Of those who worked in 1990, 70% were employed full-time during most or all of the weeks they worked.² This proportion was up from 64% in 1980. Increases occurred among mothers of all ages, with the exception of those aged 15-24.

In contrast, full-time employment dropped slightly among women without children at home. Of women without children at home who worked in 1990, 70% were employed full-time during most or all of the weeks they worked, down from 73% in 1980. The largest decline occurred among those aged 15-24 (to 50% from 65%). Among other age groups, differences in the 1980 and 1990 full-time employment rates were small.

Mothers who only have older children living with them are more likely than mothers with preschool-age children to work full-time. In 1990, 72% of mothers whose children were all aged 6 or over and who had worked that year were employed full-time during the weeks they worked. This was the case for 66% of

Labour force participation rates of women by age and presence of children, 1981 and 1991

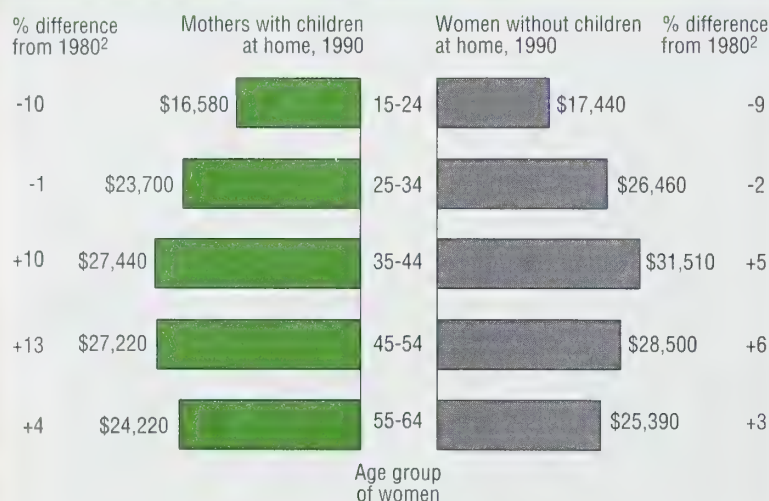
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	Age group of women							
	15-24		25-34		35-44		45-54	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
	%							
Women	61	65	66	79	64	80	56	72
With no children at home	64	66	89	91	79	85	61	71
With children	44	52	54	70	61	78	53	72
with at least one child under age 6	44	52	49	67	47	69	37	61
with children aged 6 and over only	63	72	66	77	64	80	54	73

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Earnings¹ of mothers aged 35-54 working full-time increased fastest between 1980 and 1990

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¹ Average annual earnings of women working full-time for 49-52 weeks.

² Difference was calculated using constant 1990 dollars.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

² Includes those who worked mostly full-time (30 or more hours per week) either for part or all of the year.

mothers with at least one child under age 6. These proportions were higher than in 1980. That year, 65% of mothers with only older children at home and 63% of those with at least one preschool-age child were employed full-time during the weeks they worked.

Although mothers with young children are less likely than other women to be employed full-time, they spend considerably more time on unpaid work (domestic chores and family care). Consequently, they tend to work – including paid and unpaid work – longer hours than do women with older children or no children at home. According to the 1992 General Social Survey, women in dual-earner families with children under age 6 spent, on average, just over 14 hours per day on paid or unpaid work. Women with older children or no children at home spent less than 13 hours working each day.

Mothers now more likely to be in managerial occupations than in the past

Women are gradually moving into occupations which may offer higher pay and greater opportunities for career advancement than do many traditionally female-dominated occupations. For example, 10% of women in the labour force in 1991 – both mothers and those without children at home – were in managerial or administrative occupations, up from just over 5% in 1981. The increase was similar for mothers with at least one child under age 6 (to 10% from 5%) and for those with older children (to 10% from 6%).

Over one-half of mothers in the labour force were in either clerical (32%), service (14%) or sales (8%) occupations in 1991. Similar to the trend among all women, these proportions had all declined since 1981. Men, however, were still much less likely to be in one of these three occupations (just over one-quarter in 1991).

Self-employment gaining ground among mothers

Mothers, particularly those with young children, are increasingly becoming self-employed. This is partly because self-employment often provides greater control over work schedules, and thus allows mothers to better juggle work and family commitments. Still, only a small minority of mothers, as well as women without children at home, work for themselves. As was the case in 1981,

mothers were still more likely to be self-employed in 1991 (7.6%) than were women without children at home (4.8%). During the 1980s, the proportions had risen slightly among both groups.

Increases in self-employment were more pronounced for mothers of young children than others. As a result, mothers in the labour force in 1991 with at least one preschool-age child were as likely to

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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Fathers' earnings exceed those of all men...regardless of age

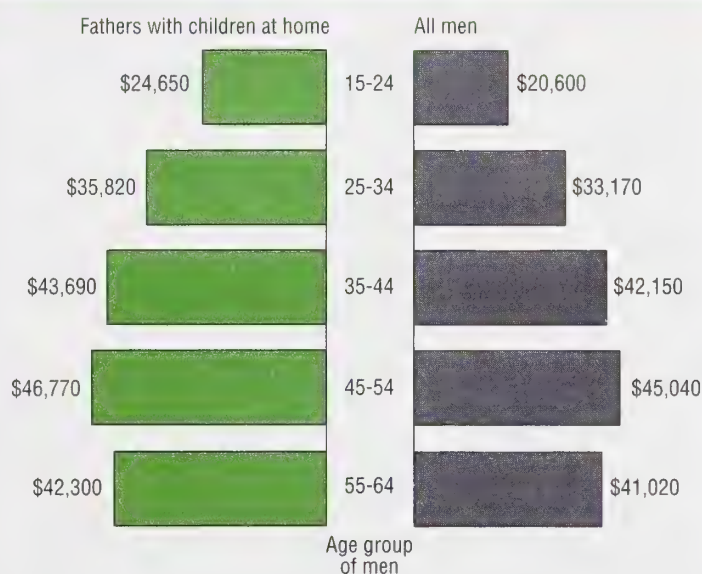
Average annual earnings of men with children at home are higher than those of all men. In 1990, among those working full-time all year, the average earnings of men with children at home (\$42,160) were 10% higher than those of all men (\$38,370). Average annual earnings in 1990 were highest among men aged 45-54 working full-time all year: \$46,770 for fathers and \$45,040 for all men.

In general, the full-time full-year earnings of men exceed those of women. This gap is even greater between fathers and mothers, regardless of age. Among people working full-time all year in 1990, the average earnings of mothers aged 15-24, 25-34 and 35-44 were all about two-thirds of those of fathers. In contrast, women's average earnings as a percentage of men's ranged from 84% among those aged 15-24 to 68% among those aged 35-44.

Unlike the situation among mothers, fathers' earnings do not appear to be negatively affected by having and raising children. One reason for this is that mothers, much more so than fathers, still leave the labour force (sometimes for extended periods) when their children are born.

Earnings¹ of fathers working full-time in 1990 higher than those of all men working full-time

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¹ Average annual earnings of men working full-time for 49-52 weeks.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

be self-employed (7.5%) as were those with only children aged 6 and over (7.6%). Ten years earlier, the proportion for mothers with young children (5.5%) was lower than that for women with older children (6.3%).

Earnings lower among mothers than among those without children

Regardless of their age, mothers working full-time all year (49-52 weeks) earn less than women without children at home. Earnings were highest among both mothers between the ages of 35 and 54, as well as among women without children at home. Among women aged 35-44 working full-time all year, mothers earned an average of \$27,440 in 1990, 87% of the earnings of women without children at home. Similarly, the earnings of mothers aged 45-54 working full-time all year averaged \$27,220, 95% of those of women without children at home.

The average earnings of mothers aged 35-64 increased during the 1980s, as did the earnings of women without children at home. Earnings among mothers aged 35-54 rose fastest. Among those working full-time all year, the average earnings (in constant dollars) of mothers aged 45-54 increased 13% between 1980 and 1990, while those of mothers aged 35-44 rose 10%. Among women without children at home and who worked full-time all year, average annual earnings increased 6% over the same period among those aged 45-54 and 5% among those aged 35-44. In contrast, average earnings dropped among mothers and other women under age 35. Declines were especially sharp among those aged 15-24.

Juggling work and family responsibilities The rising proportion of dual-earner couples with children and lone mothers with paid work has increased the demand for non-parental child care, especially among families with preschool-age children. In 1990, there were 321,000 licensed day-care spaces. At the same time, there were 1.3 million children under age 6 and 1.7 million aged 6-12 whose mothers were in the labour force, and who were potentially in need of care.

According to the 1988 National Child Care Survey, relatively few children under age 13 in non-parental child-care arrangements were in licenced day care (8%). Just over two-thirds (68%) were looked after by sitters, while the remainder were either in kindergarten or nursery school (22%) or in before- or after-school programs (3%).

Child-care costs vary considerably, depending not only on where the child is being cared for and by whom, but also on the child's age. Infant care in a day-care centre, for example, tends to be more expensive than care at a sitter's for a school-age child.

In 1992, families paying for child care spent an average of \$1,830, up 53% from \$1,200 (in constant 1992 dollars) ten years earlier. Costs were even higher for those with their child in a day-care



centre or nursery. In 1992, costs averaged \$2,270 for families with such expenses, up 38% from \$1,640 (in constant 1992 dollars).

Almost all parents who worked for pay outside the home and had primary responsibility for child care – either arranging care or providing it when they were not working – were mothers (95%). Many of these parents with at least one child under age 13 did not have access to family-supportive benefits or work arrangements. For example, the two most common arrangements – extended maternity leave and access to part-time work – were available to just over one-half of these parents. About one-third had access to flexible work hours, and one-quarter could job share or take paid leave when their children were sick or their child-care arrangements fell through.

In addition, almost two-thirds of working parents primarily responsible for providing or arranging child care (mainly mothers) said that they would prefer to be working part-time (53%) or not at all (13%). Not surprisingly, the greatest sources of tension for most of these parents (with at least one child under age 13) were feeling tired or overloaded because of their jobs, and trying to juggle work and family responsibilities.³

Conclusion Having and raising children no longer hinders most women from entering or re-entering the labour force. These women, however, often maintain primary responsibility for child care and domestic chores in addition to full-time work. In response to problems women have balancing work and family responsibilities, some employers have introduced family-friendly benefits and practices, such as flexible hours, family-related leave and workplace child care. Many families, however, do not have access to these programs. For those without adequate support, trying to juggle conflicting family and work demands may reduce productivity and may lead to burnout and high rates of absenteeism.

³ Statistics Canada and Human Resources Development, **Workplace benefits and flexibility: A perspective on parents' experiences**, Canadian National Child Care Study, 1988, Statistics Canada Catalogue 89-530E.

• For additional information on working couples, see "Balancing Work and Family Responsibilities", by K. Marshall, in **Perspectives on Labour and Income**, Spring 1994, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001E.

Ron Logan is an analyst with the Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, and **Jo-Anne Belliveau** is an Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada.



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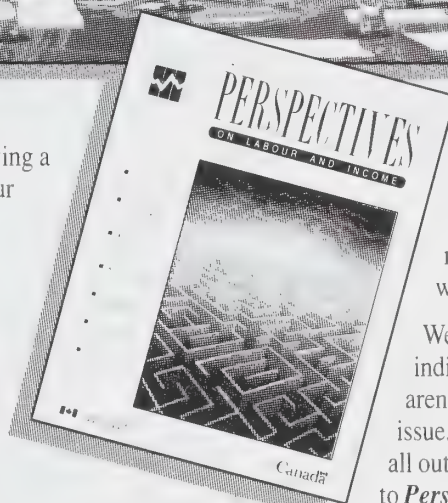
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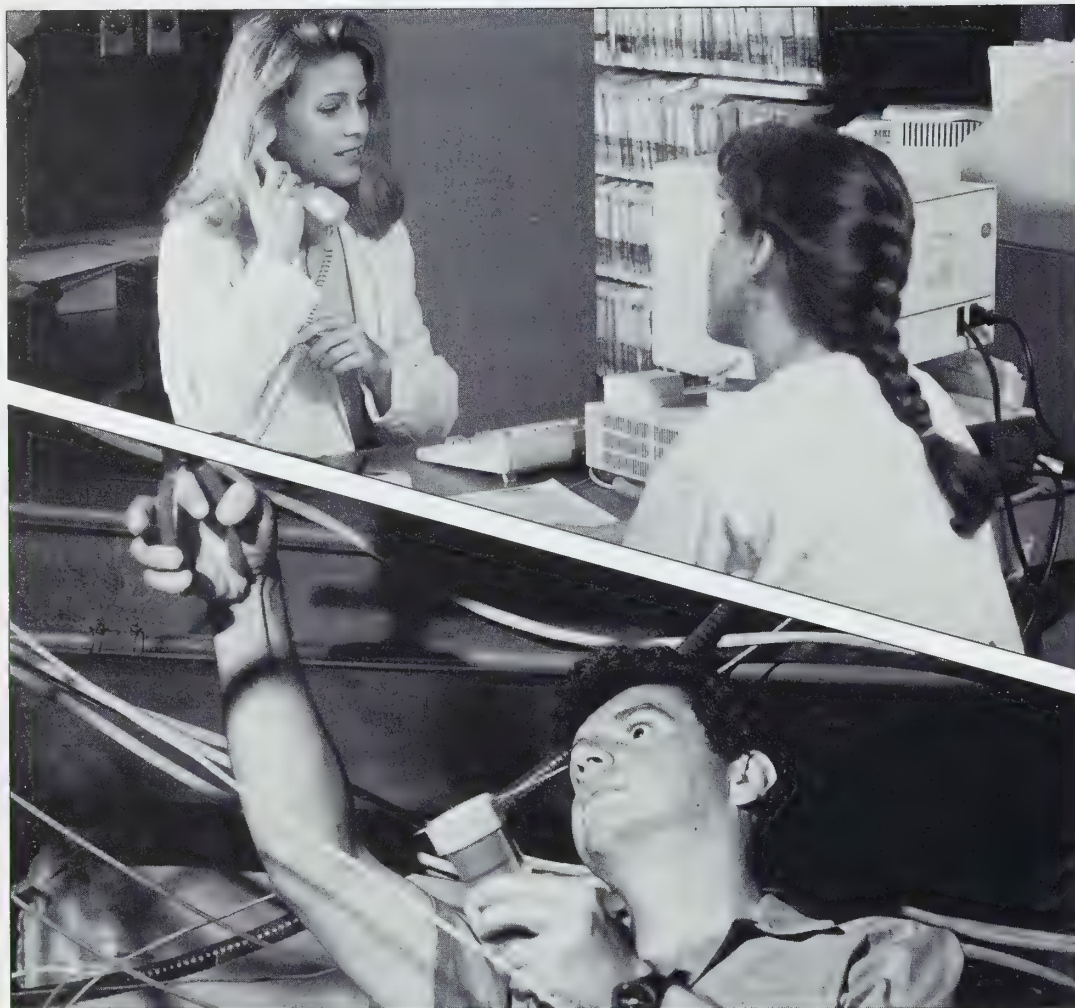
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WOMEN, MEN

& WORK

WOMEN, MEN



& WORK

by Pamela Best



f all the social and economic changes that have affected the Canadian labour force during the past two decades, one of the most pronounced has been the increase in women's employment. Most women are now employed full-time. Nonetheless, women still account for over two-thirds of all people working part-time. In addition, women are gradually moving into higher-paying professional occupations, as they become more highly educated and gain more labour force experience.

Changes have also occurred in men's employment patterns, largely because of the decline in many industries in which men have traditionally worked. The proportion of men with employment has dropped and, among those with jobs, part-time work has become increasingly common. In addition, men are now less likely to be employed in goods-producing industries than they were in the past.

One consequence of these changes has been a shift in the relative earnings of women and men. Over the past two decades, women's full-time earnings have increased, while those of men have not changed substantially. As a result, the gap between the earnings of men and women has narrowed, especially among young, highly-educated workers.

Proportionately more women with employment, but fewer men

The number of employed women in Canada increased to 5.6 million in 1993 from 3.4 million in 1975. This increase occurred not only because the female population grew, but also because women have become more likely to be employed. Of all women, the proportion employed increased each year to 51% in 1993 from 41% in 1975.

Increases in employment were particularly pronounced among women aged 25-44 and those aged 45-54. The proportion of women aged 25-44 who were employed increased to 69% in 1993 from 49% in 1975. Similarly, among women aged 45-54, the proportion employed grew to 66% from 44%. In contrast, women aged 55-64 were only slightly more likely to be working in 1993 (33%) than in 1975 (29%). The same was true among those aged 15-24: 52% were employed in 1993, compared with 50% in 1975.

From 1975 to 1993, employment among men declined. The proportion of men with jobs fell from 74% in 1975 to 68% in 1983. During a period of economic recovery in the 1980s, the proportion of employed men rose to 71% in 1989 before dropping sharply to 65% in 1993. Part of this decrease was due to a displacement of male workers in goods-producing industries and to an increase in early retirement among older men.

Declines in employment occurred in all age groups but were particularly sharp among men aged 55-64. In 1993, 55% of men that age were employed, down from 76% in 1975. Among men aged 15-24, the proportion employed dropped to 52% in 1993, from 60% in 1975. Similarly, men aged 25-44 were less likely to be employed in 1993 (82%) than they were in 1975 (91%), as were those aged 45-54 (82% in 1993, compared with 89% in 1975).

As a result of increases in women's employment and declines in men's employment, the proportion of all adults with jobs was roughly the same in 1993 (58%) as it was in 1975 (57%). Women, however, accounted for a rising proportion of all employed people: 45% in 1993, compared with 36% in 1975.

Unemployment a growing concern for both women and men

Unemployment has continued to rise for both women and men since the mid-1960s. In addition, annual unemployment rates for women in recent decades have been similar to those of men. In 1993, 11% of women and 12% of men were not employed but were actively looking for work. This was up from 8% of women and 6% of men in 1975.

Unemployment has always been most prevalent among young people aged 15-24. By the early 1990s, the problem was

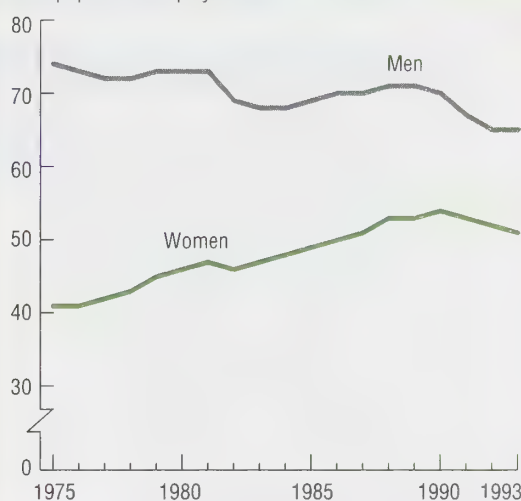
particularly severe for people this age. In 1993, 20% of men aged 15-24 and 15% of women that age were unemployed. In comparison, 11% of men and 10% of women aged 25-44 and 9% of both men and women aged 45-64 were unemployed that year.

Long-term unemployment has also become a more serious issue. In 1993, the average length of time men were out of a job

Employment levels of women approaching that of men

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% of population employed

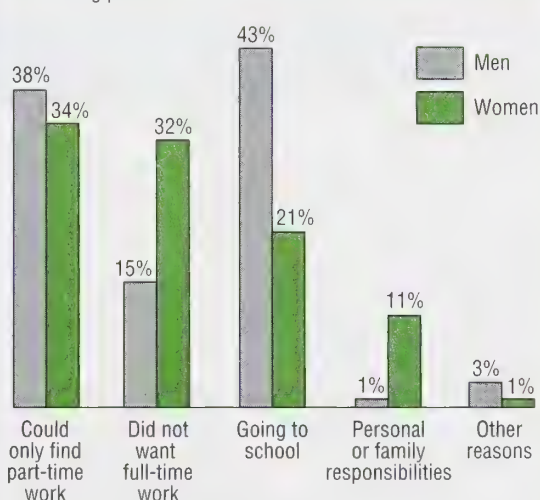


Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-201.

More than one-third of people working part-time in 1993 did so because they could only find part-time work

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% working part-time



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-220.

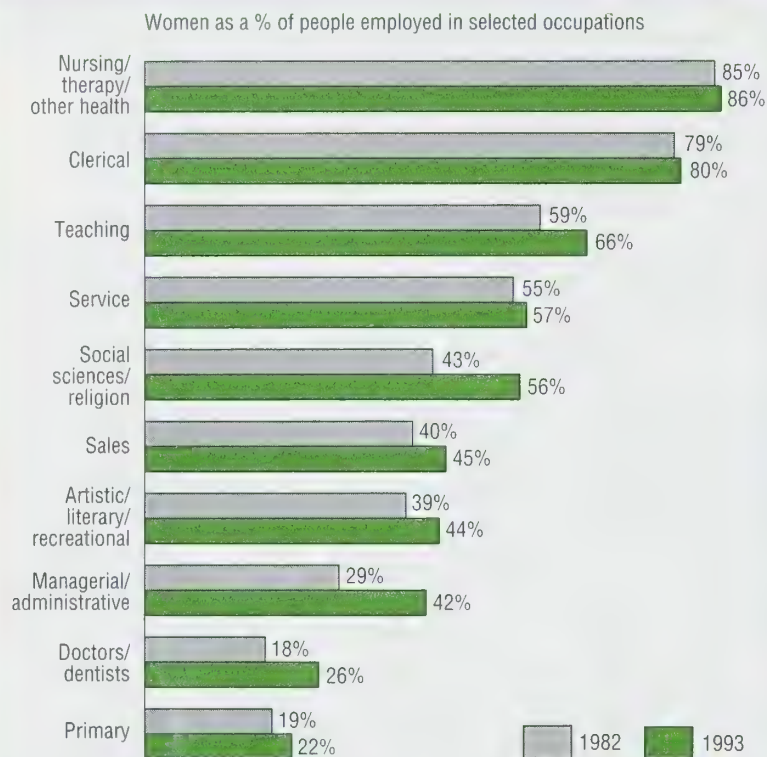
was 27 weeks, compared with 23 weeks for unemployed women. In contrast, the average duration of unemployment in 1975 was 12 weeks for men and 11 weeks for women.

Among both men and women, the duration of unemployment increased with age. Men and women aged 45 and over had the longest average duration of unemployment (35 and 29 weeks, respectively).

Men and women aged 15-24 had the shortest (18 and 15 weeks, respectively).

Women account for one-quarter of doctors and dentists

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 75-507E.

Women still more likely than men to work part-time

In 1993, 2.1 million people were working part-time. That year, part-time workers accounted for 17% of people with jobs, up from 11% in 1975. Although young people aged 15-24 have always been more likely than older workers to have part-time employment, an increasing proportion of all part-time workers are aged 25 and over. Of all people employed part-time in 1993, 60% were aged 25 and over, up from 53% in 1975.

Women are still more likely than men to work part-time. The proportion of employed men working part-time, however, has almost doubled since the mid-1970s. In 1993, 26% of employed women were working part-time, up from 20% in 1975. Over the same period, the proportion of men working part-time rose to 10% from 5%. Throughout the past two decades, however, women have consistently accounted for about 70% of all part-time workers.

As full-time positions have become more difficult to find, working part-time has become more a matter of necessity than of choice for many Canadians. Furthermore, many people working part-time are in lower paying, non-unionized, service-oriented jobs that do not offer access to company-sponsored pension plans, supplementary health-care coverage or

Average earnings of women working full-time as a percentage of those of men, by education and age, 1993

CST

Level of education	Age group					
	25-34		35-44		45-54	
	Earnings	As a % of men's	Earnings	As a % of men's	Earnings	As a % of men's
Some secondary	\$20,380	63	\$21,810	62	\$21,890	60
Graduated high school	\$23,860	74	\$25,270	68	\$27,100	67
Some postsecondary	\$23,060	65	\$26,090	67	\$27,250	51
Postsecondary diploma	\$26,490	75	\$30,030	76	\$31,120	73
University degree	\$36,450	84	\$43,910	77	\$43,950	72
Total	\$27,200	76	\$30,260	72	\$30,400	67

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-217.

other benefits given to full-time employees. By 1993, the proportion of part-time workers who were working part-time because they could not find a full-time job had more than tripled to 35% (38% for men and 34% for women), from 11% for both men and women in 1975.

Other reasons for not working full-time were considerably different for men and women. Many men worked part-time because they were going to school, but this reason has become less common. The proportion of men working part-time because they were in school declined to 43% in 1993 from 62% in 1975. In contrast, just over 20% of women in both 1993 and 1975 worked part-time because of school. These differences are not surprising because most men working part-time were young. In 1993, 59% of men working part-time were aged 15-24, while only 31% of women working part-time were that age.

Many women worked part-time because they did not want full-time employment. The proportion of women working part-time for this reason dropped, however, to 32% in 1993 from 46% in 1975. In contrast, relatively few men working part-time did not want full-time work (15% in 1993). Women were also much more likely than men to have part-time employment because of personal or family responsibilities. The proportion of women who worked part-time for this reason dropped to 11% in 1993 from 17% in 1975. Only 1% of men worked part-time because of personal or family responsibilities in both 1975 and 1993.

Most women work in service industries

Before World War II, the production of goods was the mainstay of the Canadian economy. At that time, over 60% of the employed population worked in agriculture, fishing and hunting, forestry and logging, mining, manufacturing, utilities, and construction. This proportion dropped gradually over time as service industries expanded. By 1993, only 27% of employed people were working in goods-producing industries.

Women have always been more likely than men to work in service industries. From 1975 (82%) to 1993 (86%), most employed women had jobs in this area. Among men, however, employment in service industries has been rising. By 1993, 63% of employed men were working

in service industries, up from 57% of employed men in 1975.

Women remain concentrated in many of the occupations in which they traditionally have worked. In the past decade, however, there has been a shift away from such employment. In particular, women were considerably less likely to be employed in clerical occupations in 1993 (28% of all employed women) than they were in 1982 (34%). Over the same period, the proportion of all employed women working in managerial and administrative occupations more than doubled (to 13% from 6%).

Men's occupations have changed little since the early 1980s, with two exceptions. The proportion of employed men working in manufacturing occupations dropped to 17% in 1993 from 20% in 1982. Over the same period, the proportion of employed men in managerial and administrative occupations rose to 14% from 10%.

Women now account for an increasing proportion of people employed in most occupations, particularly the professions. For example, the proportion of all doctors and dentists who were women rose to 26% in 1993 from 18% in 1982. Over the same period, the proportion of people in managerial and administrative positions who were women rose to 42% from 29%. Also, the proportion of people in the social sciences or religion who were women increased to 56% from 43%.

Women are also becoming increasingly likely to be self-employed. In 1993, 10% of employed women were self-employed, up from 7% in 1981. Men, however, remained the most likely to have self-employment (20% of employed men in 1993). The increase in the number of women with self-employment has resulted in women forming a growing share of all self-employed people. By 1993, 31% of the self-employed were women, compared with 24% in 1981.

Gap between men's and women's earnings narrowing

Women employed full-time still earn considerably less than their male counterparts, regardless of age or level of education. The gap is closing somewhat as an increasing proportion of women with higher levels of education and more work experience move into better paying jobs. Another factor contributing to the narrowing of the wage

gap is that men's full-time earnings (adjusted for inflation) have been stable in recent years, while those of women have continued to increase. In 1993, earnings of women employed full-time throughout the year averaged \$28,390, 72% of those of men working full-time (\$39,430). This proportion was up sharply from 66% in 1989 and 60% in 1975.

The gap between the earnings of men and women working full-time was smallest among young workers. Among those working full-time all year, the average earnings of women aged 15-24 were 91% of those of young men, while the average earnings of women aged 25-34 were 76% of those of men. The proportion dropped to 72% among those aged 35-44 and 67% among those aged 45-54. Among those aged 55-64 working full-time all year, the average earnings of women were 66% of those of men. One of the reasons for differences in earnings between men and women, particularly among older workers, was that many women had temporarily left or delayed entry into the labour force because of family responsibilities and role expectations.

The earnings gap was smaller between university-educated men and women in all age groups than between workers with less formal education. In 1993, the average earnings of female university graduates working full-time all year (\$40,670) were 75% of those of their male counterparts (\$54,150). The percentage was lowest among workers with a post-secondary diploma (74%) and those with only some secondary education (64%).

Given the effect of age and education on the gap between the earnings of men and women, it is not surprising that this gap is smallest among young people with a university degree. In 1993, the average earnings of university-educated women aged 25-34 working full-time all year were 84% of those of men. The proportion was lower among those aged 35-44 (77%) and those aged 45-54 (72%).

Pamela Best is an analyst with the Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CST

ANNUAL LABOUR FORCE ESTIMATES, 1946-1994



	Population aged 15 and over (000s)	Labour force (000s)			Participation rate (%)	Unemployment rate (%)	Employment/ population ratio (%)
		Total	Employed	Unemployed			
1946	8,779	4,829	4,666	163	55.0	3.4	53.1
1947	9,007	4,942	4,832	110	54.9	2.2	53.6
1948	9,141	4,988	4,875	114	54.6	2.3	53.3
1949	9,268	5,055	4,913	141	54.5	2.8	53.0
1950	9,615	5,163	4,976	186	53.7	3.6	51.8
1951	9,732	5,223	5,097	126	53.7	2.4	52.4
1952	9,956	5,324	5,169	155	53.5	2.9	51.9
1953	10,164	5,397	5,235	162	53.1	3.0	51.5
1954	10,391	5,493	5,243	250	52.9	4.6	50.5
1955	10,597	5,610	5,364	245	52.9	4.4	50.6
1956	10,807	5,782	5,585	197	53.5	3.4	51.7
1957	11,123	6,008	5,731	278	54.0	4.6	51.5
1958	11,388	6,137	5,706	432	53.9	7.0	50.1
1959	11,605	6,242	5,870	372	53.8	6.0	50.6
1960	11,831	6,411	5,965	446	54.2	7.0	50.4
1961	12,053	6,521	6,055	466	54.1	7.1	50.2
1962	12,280	6,615	6,225	390	53.9	5.9	50.7
1963	12,536	6,748	6,375	374	53.8	5.5	50.9
1964	12,817	6,933	6,609	324	54.1	4.7	51.6
1965	13,128	7,141	6,862	280	54.4	3.9	52.3
1966 ¹	13,083	7,493	7,242	251	57.3	3.4	55.4
1967	13,444	7,747	7,451	296	57.6	3.8	55.4
1968	13,805	7,951	7,593	358	57.6	4.5	55.0
1969	14,162	8,194	7,832	362	57.9	4.4	55.3
1970	14,528	8,395	7,919	476	57.8	5.7	54.5
1971	14,872	8,639	8,104	535	58.1	6.2	54.5
1972	15,186	8,897	8,344	553	58.6	6.2	54.9
1973	15,526	9,276	8,761	515	59.7	5.5	56.4
1974	15,924	9,639	9,125	514	60.5	5.3	57.3
1975	16,323	9,974	9,284	690	61.1	6.9	56.9
1976	16,701	10,203	9,477	726	61.1	7.1	56.7
1977	17,051	10,500	9,651	849	61.6	8.1	56.6
1978	17,377	10,895	9,987	908	62.7	8.3	57.5
1979	17,702	11,231	10,395	836	63.4	7.4	58.7
1980	18,053	11,573	10,708	865	64.1	7.5	59.3
1981	18,368	11,899	11,001	898	64.8	7.5	59.9
1982	18,608	11,926	10,618	1,308	64.1	11.0	57.1
1983	18,805	12,109	10,675	1,434	64.4	11.8	56.8
1984	18,996	12,316	10,932	1,384	64.8	11.2	57.5
1985	19,190	12,532	11,221	1,311	65.3	10.5	58.5
1986	19,397	12,746	11,531	1,215	65.7	9.5	59.4
1987	19,642	13,011	11,861	1,150	66.2	8.8	60.4
1988	19,890	13,275	12,245	1,031	66.7	7.8	61.6
1989	20,141	13,503	12,486	1,018	67.0	7.5	62.0
1990	20,430	13,681	12,572	1,109	67.0	8.1	61.5
1991	20,746	13,757	12,340	1,417	66.3	10.3	59.5
1992	21,058	13,797	12,240	1,556	65.5	11.3	58.1
1993	21,392	13,946	12,383	1,562	65.2	11.2	57.9
1994	21,714	14,102	12,644	1,458	64.9	10.3	58.2

¹ Includes the population aged 15 and over beginning in 1966. Data prior to 1966 are based on the population aged 14 and over. Estimates for 1966 to 1974 have been adjusted to conform to current concepts. Estimates prior to 1966 have not been revised.



SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,549.7	26,894.8	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1 ^{PD}	28,542.2 ^{PD}	28,940.6 ^{PR}	29,248.1 ^{PP}
Annual growth (%)	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.2 ^{PD}	1.5 ^{PD}	1.4 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PP}
Immigration ¹	130,813	152,413	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810 ^F	264,967 ^R	227,226 ^P
Emigration ¹	47,707	40,978	40,395	39,760	43,692 ^{IR}	45,633 ^{PD}	43,992 ^{PR}	44,807 ^{PP}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	*	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.0	7.0	6.8	6.1	5.8	*	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.6	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.8	*	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144	1,077
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383	12,644
– goods sector (000s)	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302	3,393
– service sector (000s)	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082	9,252
Total unemployment (000s)	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562	1,458
Unemployment rate (%)	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2	10.3
Part-time employment (%)	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3	17.1
Women's participation rate (%)	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5	57.2
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	*	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	47,069	*
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	12.8	12.0	10.9	12.0	12.9	13.3	14.5	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	72.0	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4	5,294.0	5,367.3	*
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4	930.5	949.3	*
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,237	*
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.6	6.0	*	*	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1	*	*
– women	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7	*	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.7	*	*
– women	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.7	*	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.3	6.8	*	*	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	856	898	948	1,013	1,056	1,081	1,079	*
– property	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841	6,141	5,890	5,562	*
– homicide	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.2	*
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1991 \$000,000)	169,773.5	174,328.5	181,227.0	188,899.1	196,775.1	*	*	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.1	56.3	55.9	56.6	58.5	*	*	*
– as a % of GDP	25.5	24.8	25.2	26.7	29.1	*	*	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5	*
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1	*
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0	*
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	-0.2	-1.8 ^R	+0.6 ^R	+2.2 ^R	*
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8	0.2
Urban housing starts	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988	127,346
– Not available * Not yet available ^P Preliminary data ^E Estimate ^m Figures as of March ^{PD} Final postcensal estimates ^{PP} Preliminary postcensal estimates ^{PR} Updated postcensal estimates ^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates ^R Revised data ^F Final data								
¹ For year ending June 30								
² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

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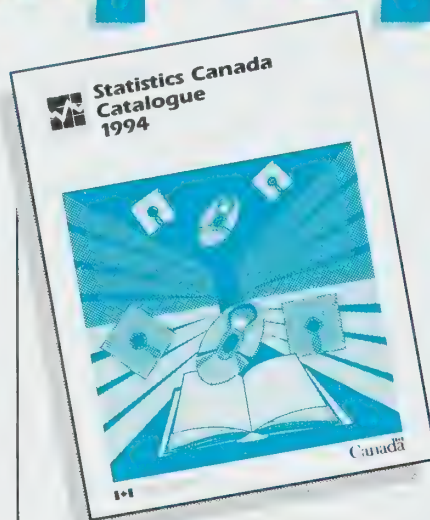
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contents

SUMMER 1995

No.37

VISIBLE MINORITIES: A DIVERSE GROUP

by Karen Kelly

2

IMMIGRANTS IN QUEBEC

by Viviane Renaud and Rosalinda Costa

9

HEALTH AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES

by Roger Roberge, Jean-Marie Berthelot and Michael Wolfson

15

CANADA'S NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION:

A PROFILE OF OTTAWA-HULL

by Jeffrey Frank

20

THEIR OWN BOSS: THE SELF-EMPLOYED IN CANADA

by Arthur Gardner

26

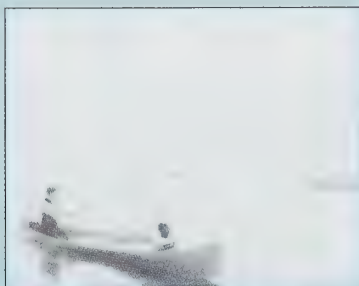
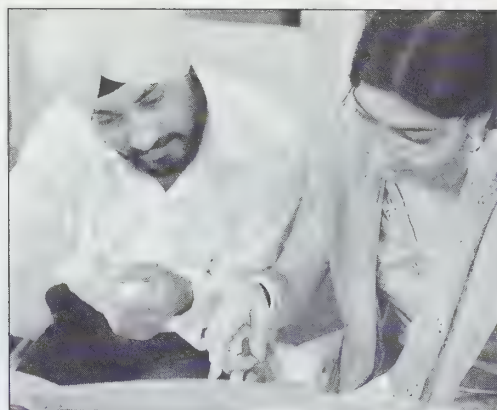
THE IMPORTANCE OF WILDLIFE TO CANADIANS

30

SOCIAL INDICATORS

35

Cumulative Index of Articles – See Winter 1994 Issue



ON OUR COVER:

A Song at Twilight (1893), oil on canvas, 61.2 x 91.5 cm.

Collection: National Gallery of Canada.

About the artist:

Born in Whetstone, England, **Frederick Challener** (1869-1959) came to Canada with his parents in 1870. His early years of artistic

instruction were at the Ontario School of Art and with G.A. Reid. Mr. Challener's work has been described as realistic, romantic and decorative, with many of his larger paintings done in oil and the smaller ones in water colours. His work is displayed at the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Ontario and in many other collections.

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Visible **minorities**

by Karen Kelly

A DIVERSE GROUP



Recent changes in immigration patterns have increased the size of Canada's visible minority population and have also changed its composition. In 1991, the 1.9 million adults in a visible minority in Canada represented 9% of the population aged 15 and over, doubling the 1981 proportion. More than three-quarters (78%) were immigrants, 15% were born in Canada and the remainder (7%) were non-permanent residents. As was the case during the 1980s, Chinese, Blacks and South Asians accounted for two-thirds of adults in a visible minority in 1991. During the past decade, however, there have been large increases in some of the smaller visible minority groups such as South East Asians and Latin Americans.

People in a visible minority in Canada have much in common. Most, for example, live and work in Canada's larger cities. Nonetheless, the visible minority population comprises groups which are, in many ways, very diverse. It includes not only recent immigrants, but also those who have lived in Canada for a long time or who were born here. Although some recent immigrants quickly adjust to their new life in this country, others may have a more difficult time accessing services or participating in the labour force because they lack the necessary language skills in English or French.

Visible minority groups also differ in their age structures, levels of educational attainment and the types of jobs they have. For example, South East Asians and Latin Americans, more than half of whom immigrated to Canada during the 1980s, are among the youngest of all visible minorities. They tend to have less formal education and have both the lowest rates of labour force participation and the highest rates of unemployment. In addition, over half of their populations are employed as clerical, service or manual workers.¹ In contrast, those in the Japanese community, two-thirds of whom were born in Canada, are older than members of other visible minority groups. They are also among the most highly educated, have the lowest unemployment rate and are among those most likely to hold professional or managerial positions.

Despite educational diversity among the various groups, visible minorities are generally more highly educated than are other adults. And yet, even among those aged 25 to 44 with a university degree, adults in a visible minority are less likely than others to be employed in professional or managerial occupations.

¹ Excludes skilled crafts and trades workers, as well as semi-skilled manual workers.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Defining visible minorities

With the passage of the *Employment Equity Act* in 1986 came the need for data on four designated groups: women, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and those in a visible minority. To ensure consistency and to avoid duplication of efforts among departments working on employment equity, a federal Interdepartmental Working Group on Employment Equity Data was formed. Visible minorities were defined according to criteria developed by this working group.

Data for this article were derived from the 1991 Census of Canada. To identify people in a visible minority, ethnic origin data were supplemented with other information on place of birth and mother tongue. As a result, visible minority data may differ from ethnic origin data.

Ten visible minority groups have been identified: Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Latin Americans, Other Pacific Islanders, South Asians, South East Asians, and West Asians and Arabs. People belonging to more than one group have been included in a multiple visible minority category to avoid counting them twice. This group accounted for 2% of all visible minorities in 1991 and has not been included in this analysis.

For more detail on the definition of visible minorities, see **Women, Visible Minorities, Aboriginal Peoples and Persons with Disabilities... The 1991 Employment Equity Definitions**, available from the nearest Statistics Canada Reference Centre or from the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa (613-951-0247).

Age standardizing

Socio-economic characteristics of a population, such as educational levels, labour force participation and unemployment rates, and occupational distribution, are affected by the demographic composition of that population. The age distribution of a population, in particular, is a key factor affecting such indicators. Therefore, for the purposes of comparing two or more populations, it is useful to eliminate the effects of differences in age structures. The procedure of adjusting rates to eliminate the effect of age differences in the populations is known as age standardization. Age-standardized rates may differ from actual rates for a population, but make comparisons between two populations with different age structures more meaningful.

Rather, many are concentrated in lower-paying clerical, service and manual labour jobs.

Two-thirds of visible minorities are recent immigrants Almost two-thirds of adults in a visible minority have come to Canada since 1972, with 35% having arrived between 1982 and 1991. With the exception of the Japanese, most adults in all visible minority groups were born outside the country. Nonetheless, immigration patterns vary across individual groups.

More than one-half of South East Asian and Latin American adults living in Canada immigrated between 1982 and 1991. Over one-third of West Asian and Arab, Chinese, Filipino, Korean and South Asian adults also arrived during this period, while this was the case for about one-quarter of Blacks. In contrast, relatively few Japanese (6%) and Pacific Islanders² (15%) came to Canada during the 1980s.

Despite large increases in certain visible minority groups in recent years, Chinese adults still accounted for the largest share of those in a visible minority in 1991 (26%), followed by South Asians and Blacks (each accounting for 20%). The next largest groups were West Asians and Arabs (11%), Filipinos (7%), and Latin Americans and South East Asians (each 5%).

Individual visible minority groups concentrated in different cities Almost all visible minority adults live in urban areas. In 1991, 93% of all adults aged 15 and over in a visible minority lived in one of Canada's census metropolitan areas (CMAs), compared with only 59% of other adults. Visible minorities were also much more likely to live in one of Canada's three largest CMAs. More than two-thirds of the adult visible minority population lived in either Toronto (40%), Vancouver (15%) or Montréal (14%). In contrast, less than one-third of other adults lived in these urban areas.

As a result of the concentration of visible minorities in these three areas, large proportions of the populations in each of these CMAs are now visible minorities. In 1991, the adult visible minority population accounted for 24% of the adult population in Toronto, 23% in Vancouver and 10% in Montréal.

Visible minority groups, however, do not all settle in the same cities. Blacks and Koreans (each 50%), South Asians (48%) and Filipinos (42%) were concentrated in the Toronto CMA in 1991. The Vancouver CMA, on the other hand, was home to almost half (49%) of Pacific Islander adults. The Chinese and Japanese communities were split between these two

Distribution of adults in visible minority groups, 1991

CST

		Aged 15-44	Immigrants	Arrived between 1982 and 1991
			%	
Chinese	26%	69	81	39
South Asians	20%	71	85	34
Blacks	20%	73	72	23
West Asians and Arabs	11%	71	74	40
Filipinos	7%	72	83	37
Latin Americans	5%	82	79	52
South East Asians	5%	81	94	52
Japanese	3%	60	23	6
Koreans	2%	66	86	34
Multiple visible minority	2%	77	73	25
Pacific Islanders ¹	0.2%	79	63	15

¹ The Pacific Islander population does not include Filipinos.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

cities: 39% of Chinese and 27% of Japanese adults lived in Toronto, while 28% of the Chinese and 31% of the Japanese lived in Vancouver.

Many West Asians and Arabs (35%), Latin Americans (24%) and Blacks (20%) lived in the Montréal CMA in 1991. With the exception of South East Asians, only a small proportion (less than 8%) of all other visible minority groups lived in this CMA.

South East Asians, 89% of whom arrived in Canada between 1972 and 1991, were more dispersed across the country than any other visible minority group. In 1991, Toronto and Montréal were each home to 24% of adult South East Asians, while another 10% lived in Vancouver.

Latin Americans, South East Asians and Pacific Islanders are youngest groups In 1991, almost three-quarters of the adult visible minority population were under age 45 (22% were aged 15 to 24 and 50% were aged 25 to 44). Among non-visible minority adults in Canada, less than two-thirds were that young (18% were aged 15 to 24 and 43% were aged 25 to 44). In addition, seniors accounted for only 7% of the adult visible minority population, while they represented 14% of all other adults in Canada.

Latin Americans, South East Asians and Pacific Islanders were the youngest visible minorities, with about 80% of each of their adult populations aged 15 to 44 in 1991. Blacks, South Asians, Filipinos, and West Asians and Arabs each had between 70% and

75% of their adult populations that age. Chinese and Koreans tended to be older, with 69% and 66% of their adult populations, respectively, aged 15 to 44 in 1991. The Japanese were the oldest visible minority community in Canada that year: only 60% of adults were under age 45 and 14% were seniors.

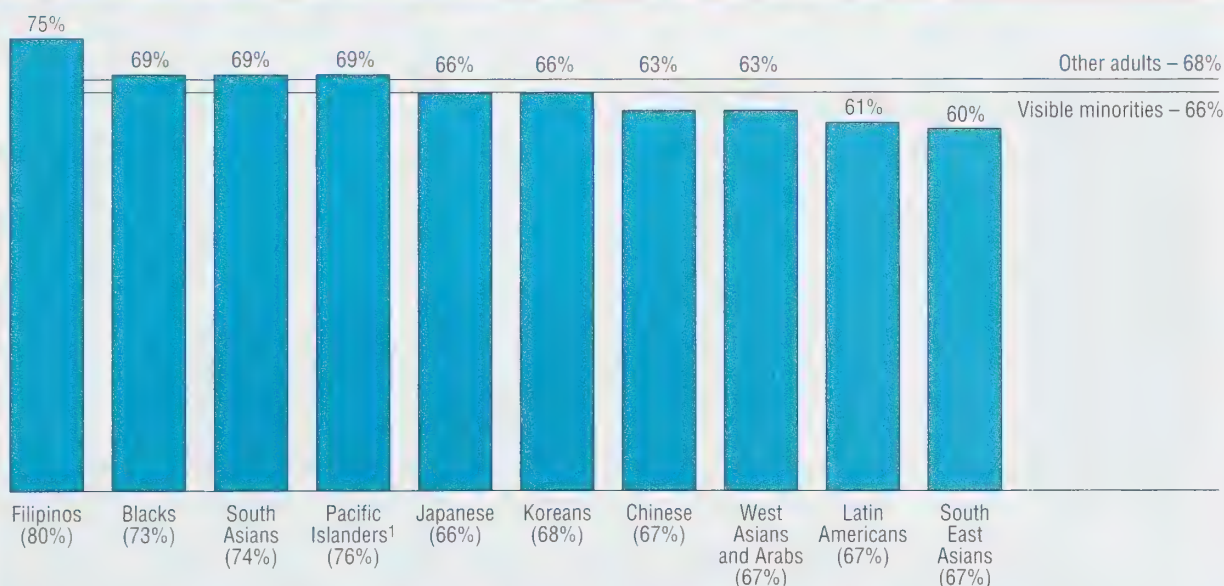
Koreans, Filipinos, Japanese, and West Asians and Arabs most educated Visible minority adults are much more likely to have a university degree and less likely not to have completed high school than are other adults. In 1991, 18% of the visible minority population aged 15 and over had a university degree, compared with 11% of other adults. Also, 33% of visible minorities had less than a high school level of education, while this was the case for 39% of other adults.

Part of the reason for these differences may be that visible minority adults are generally younger than others adults, and educational attainment tends to be higher among younger than among older people. The different age structures of the two populations, however, do not fully explain differences in educational levels. The proportion of visible minority adults with a university degree did not change after age standardizing the visible minority population so that it had the same age structure as the non-visible minority population. The proportion of visible minority adults with less than a high school education was slightly

² The Pacific Islander population does not include Filipinos.

Age-standardized labour force participation rates of visible minority groups, 1991

CST



¹ The Pacific Islander population does not include Filipinos.

Note: Figures in brackets are the labour force participation rates before age standardization.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

higher after age standardization (36%), but remained lower than for other adults.

Educational attainment among individual visible minority groups varied considerably and, again, could not be explained by differences in age structures. Among men, Koreans (36%), Japanese and West Asians and Arabs (each 28%), and Filipinos (26%) were the most likely to have a university degree (after standardizing for age). In contrast, only 9% of Pacific Islander, 13% of Black, 14% of Latin American and 16% of South East Asian men were university educated. Among women, the pattern was similar, with Filipinos (25%), Koreans (21%), Japanese (20%), and West Asians and Arabs (17%) the most likely to have a university degree. Black (7%), South East Asian (8%), and Latin American and Pacific Islander (each 9%) women were the least likely to have that level of education.

Labour force participation highest among Filipinos, Blacks, South Asians and Pacific Islanders Visible minority adults (70%) were somewhat more likely than other adults (68%) to have been in the labour force (that is, either working or looking for work) in the week before the 1991 Census. This was largely because proportionately fewer people in visible minorities than in the rest of the population were seniors. Once the labour force participation rate of the visible minority population

was age standardized, the rate – 66% – was lower than that of the non-visible minority population.

After standardizing for age differences, four visible minority groups had higher labour force participation rates than non-visible minorities: Filipinos (75%), and Blacks, South Asians and Pacific Islanders (each 69%). Participation rates were lowest among South East Asians (60%) and Latin Americans (61%).

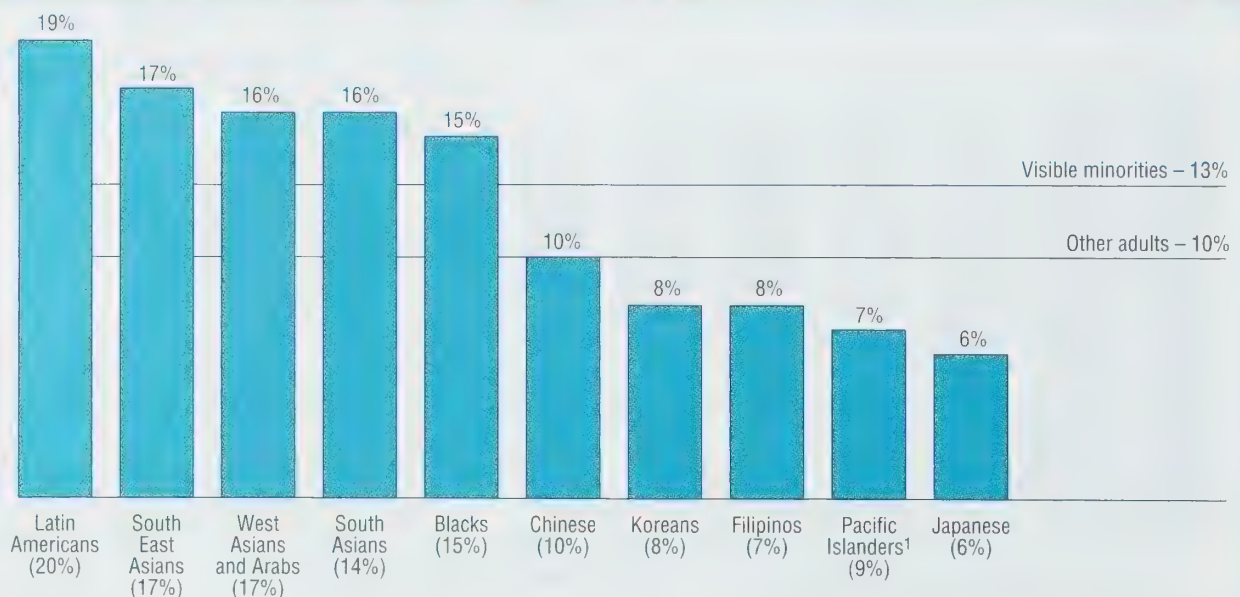
Overall, after standardizing for age, visible minority men (74%) were slightly less likely than other men (76%) to be in the labour force. Filipino men (79%) were the most likely to be in the labour force, followed by Pacific Islander (78%) and South Asian (77%) men. In contrast, only about 70% of South East Asian, Chinese and Latin American men were in the labour force in 1991.

Among women, the participation rate for visible minorities and others was the same (59%). Filipino women (72%) were the most likely to be in the labour force, followed by Blacks (64%) and Pacific Islanders (62%). Participation rates were lowest among West Asian and Arab (50%), and South East Asian and Latin American (each 52%) women.

Latin Americans and South East Asians have highest unemployment rates The unemployment rate of visible minorities overall (13% before and after age standardization) was higher than that of other adults (10%) in the week prior to the 1991 Census.

Age-standardized unemployment rates of visible minority groups, 1991

CST



¹ The Pacific Islander population does not include Filipinos.

Note: Figures in brackets are the unemployment rates before age standardization.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Latin Americans and South East Asians, who had the lowest labour force participation rates, also had the highest age-standardized unemployment rates (19% and 17%, respectively). Unemployment was also high among West Asians and Arabs, and South Asians (each 16%). The low participation rates and high unemployment rates for Latin Americans and South East Asians may relate to their recent arrival in Canada: over half of their populations arrived during the 1980s. In addition, many Latin Americans and South East Asians, as well as West Asians and Arabs, lived in the Montréal CMA in 1991, where unemployment was higher than in Canada's other two largest CMAs. In the week before the 1991 Census, 11% of the non-visible minority population living in Montréal were unemployed, compared with 9% of those in Vancouver and 7% of those in Toronto.

Japanese (6%) and Pacific Islander (7%) adults had the lowest unemployment rates after standardizing for age. Koreans and Filipinos also had unemployment rates (each 8% after age standardization) that were lower than those of both visible minorities in general and other adults.

South East Asians and Latin Americans most likely to be manual labourers, and Filipinos to be service workers

According to the 1991 Census, 1.4 million adults in a visible minority had worked sometime during the 18 months prior to the census.³ Of those who worked during this period, visible minority adults were as likely as other adults to be employed as clerical workers (17%). They were, however, more likely than other adults to be manual labourers (16% compared with 13%) or service workers (13% compared with 10%). South East Asians (32%) and Latin Americans (29%) were by far the most likely to be manual labourers, whereas this was the case for only 8% of Koreans and Japanese, and 10% of West Asians and Arabs. Filipinos, on the other hand, were especially likely to be in service jobs (25%), compared with only 8% of Koreans and 9% of South Asians and Japanese. While some differences existed by gender, these patterns were similar for both men and women. In addition, although the proportions of visible minority adults in all occupations are age standardized, there are almost no differences between these figures and the proportions before age standardization.

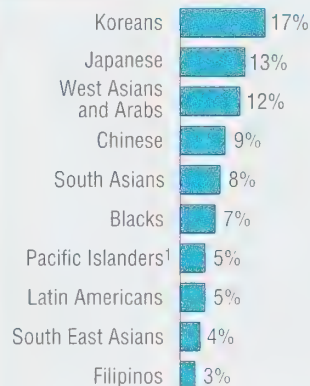
Koreans, Japanese, and West Asians and Arabs most likely to be managers

Of those who worked in the 18 months before the 1991 Census, visible minorities were less likely to be employed in managerial occupations (8%) than were other adults (10%). This was true for both men and women. Among visible minorities, 10% of men and 6% of women were in such positions, compared with 12% of other men and 8% of other women. Adults in a visible minority were, however, as likely as others to be in professional occupations (13% after standardizing for age). Visible minority men were actually more likely (14%) than other men (11%) to have professional jobs, whereas the opposite was true among women (13% compared with 16%).

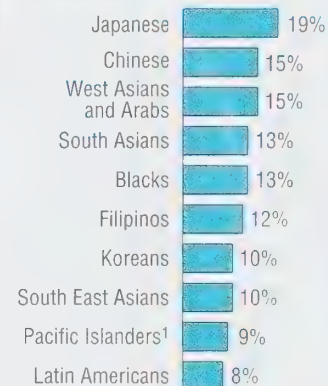
Age-standardized proportion of visible minority groups in selected occupations, 1991

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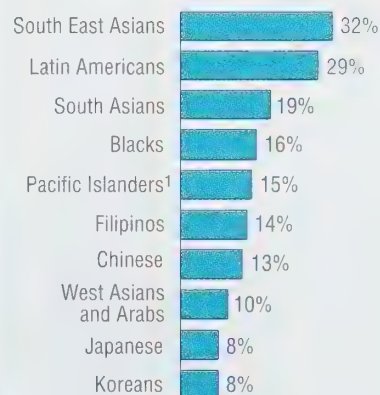
Managerial



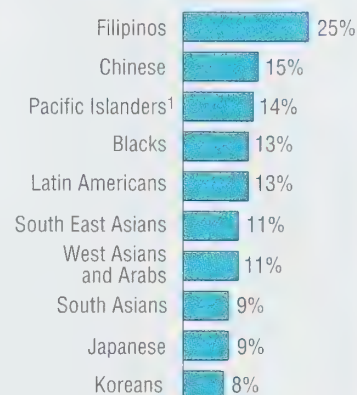
Professional



Manual²



Service



¹ The Pacific Islander population does not include Filipinos.

² Excludes skilled crafts and trades workers, as well as semi-skilled manual workers.

Note: Only age-standardized proportions are shown because they are almost the same as those before standardization.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

³ In the remainder of this article, data for 1991 refer to the 18-month period before the census.

The proportion of visible minority adults holding either managerial or professional positions varies considerably by group. After standardizing for age, Koreans (17%), Japanese (13%), and West Asians and Arabs (12%) were most likely to be in managerial occupations, while less than 5% of Filipinos and South East Asians were in such positions. Japanese were the most likely to have professional jobs (19%), followed by Chinese and West Asians and Arabs (each 15%). Only 8% of Latin Americans, 9% of Pacific Islanders and 10% of South East Asians were in professional occupations.

Underemployment among visible minorities with postsecondary education Visible minorities aged 25 to 44 are as likely as other adults that age to have at least some education or training beyond high school. Among adults aged 25 to 44 who worked in the 18 months before the 1991 Census, visible minorities were more likely (25%) to have a university degree than were other adults (17%). They were, however, somewhat less likely to have some other postsecondary education (41% compared with 45%).

Nonetheless, visible minorities with a university education are not as likely as others with the same level of education to be employed in the higher-paying professional or managerial occupations. Among those aged 25 to 44 with a university degree who worked in the 18 months before the 1991 Census, just over one-half of visible minorities had either a professional (39%) or managerial (13%) job, compared with 70% of other adults (52% in professional and 18% in managerial positions). University-educated Japanese aged 25 to 44 were the most likely to be in professional or managerial occupations (65%), followed by Chinese adults in that age group (61%). In contrast, only 27% of university-educated Filipinos aged 25 to 44 were in these occupations, as were 42% of Latin Americans.

Similarly, among those aged 25 to 44 with other types of postsecondary education, 26% of visible minorities were in professional, semi-professional or managerial occupations, compared with 32% of other adults. The proportion in these occupations ranged from highs of 36% among Japanese and 33% among Koreans, to lows of 17% among Latin Americans and 20% among South East Asians and Filipinos.

A disproportionate share of Filipino adults with at least some education beyond high school worked in service jobs in the 18 months before the 1991 Census. Among adults aged 25 to 44 with a university degree, 17% of Filipinos were service workers, compared with 5% of visible minorities overall and 2% of other adults. Similarly, among those aged 25 to 44 with some other postsecondary education, 29% of Filipinos had service jobs, compared with 12% of visible minorities and 8% of other adults.

Manual labour jobs were relatively common among highly-educated South East Asians and Latin Americans who worked in the 18 months before the 1991 Census. Among those aged 25 to 44, about 25% of South East Asians and Latin Americans with some postsecondary education were in manual labour jobs, as were 11% of Latin Americans with a university degree. Overall, 12% of visible minorities aged 25 to 44 with a postsecondary education, and 4% of those with a university degree had such jobs. Among other adults that age, 8% of those with some postsecondary education and 2% of university graduates were manual labourers.

A look to the future – the visible minority population is expected to increase As was the case during the 1980s, the visible minority population is expected to continue to increase faster than the total population.⁴ The number of visible minority adults is projected to triple between now and 2016 to just over six million. Canada's non-visible minority adult population, on the other hand, is projected to increase by about one-quarter. As a result of such different growth rates, adults in a visible minority could account for about 20% of all adults by 2016, more than double the proportion in 1991 (9%).

The number of adults in a visible minority is projected to increase during each of the five-year periods between 1991 and 2016. The growth rate, however is expected to decline in each successive period, from a high of 42% between 1991 and 1996 to 17% between 2011 and 2016.

Individual visible minority groups are expected to increase at different rates. The West Asian and Arab adult community is expected to be the fastest growing, with the population in 2016 projected to be four times higher than in 1991. The Filipino and other Pacific Islander, Latin American, Chinese and most other Asian communities are expected to more than triple in size over the same period. Growth in the size of the adult populations of Blacks (2.9 times greater in 2016 than in 1991) and South Asians (2.5 times greater) will be somewhat slower. These differences in growth rates among individual groups could contribute to a further diversification of Canada's visible minority population.

⁴ Based on a medium growth projection.

Karen Kelly is an analyst with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.





IMMIGRANTS IN QUEBEC

In recent decades, immigration has become an important component of population growth in Canada. This is because fertility rates have declined, throughout the country, particularly in Quebec. In that province, the fertility rate, while traditionally very high, was one of the lowest in the Western world in the 1980s. Although the rate in Quebec has increased since the late 1980s, it continues to be lower than in the rest of the country. This trend has contributed to a decline in Quebec's share of Canada's total population, from 29% in 1966 to 25% in 1991.

by Viviane Renaud and Rosalinda Costa

Because of the relatively low fertility rate in Quebec, immigration plays a particularly important role in that province's population growth. Since the 1970s, Quebec has had agreements with the federal

government giving that province increasing control over the selection of independent immigrants. Part of the reason for these agreements was to assist Quebec in preserving its Francophone culture.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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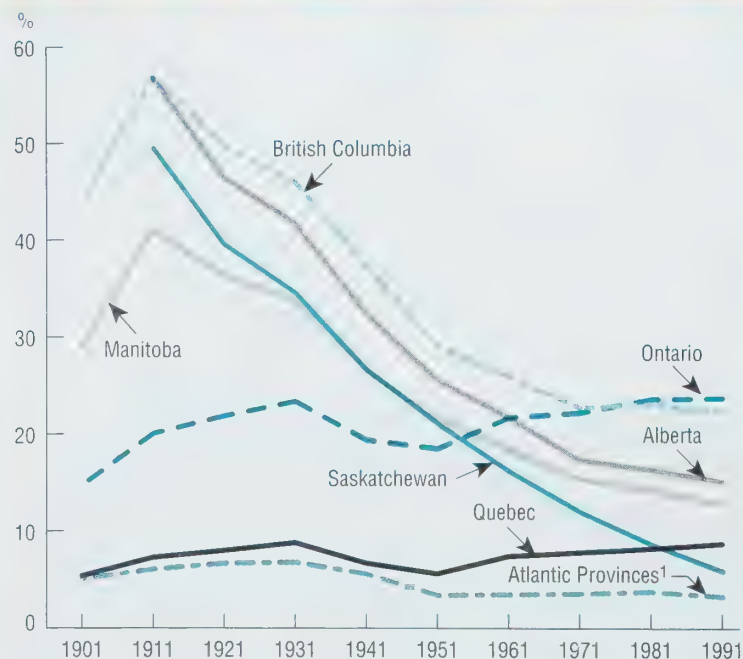
Fertility rates

Fertility rates in Canada fell dramatically following the baby boom period that ended in the early 1960s. The drop was much sharper in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. In Quebec, the fertility rate fell from an average of 4.0 births per woman between 1956 and 1961, to a low of around 1.4 births during the mid-1980s. Over the same period, the fertility rate in the rest of Canada fell from 3.8 to under 1.7 births per woman.

Since the late 1980s, the fertility rate has risen both in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. The increase was much faster in Quebec, where the rate rose from a low of 1.37 births per woman in 1987 to 1.65 births in 1991. Over the same period, the fertility rate in the rest of Canada rose from 1.65 to 1.71 births per woman. The sharper rise in Quebec's fertility rate may be partially the result of the provincial government's program of economic incentives for parents.

Immigrants as a percentage of total population, by province, 1901-1991

CST



¹ Newfoundland has been included in the Atlantic Provinces since 1951.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Although some similarities exist, the profile of immigrants¹ in Quebec differs from that of immigrants elsewhere in Canada. Quebec's immigrants, for example, particularly those who arrived during the 1980s, are more likely than those in the rest of Canada to have come from French-speaking countries and to speak French. They are also more likely than immigrants in the rest of Canada to be able to speak both English and French.

Nonetheless, immigrants in Quebec, like those in Canada overall, are more likely now than in the past to come from Asia and the Middle East. Also, while most immigrants in general live in Canada's large urban areas, immigrants in Quebec are particularly concentrated in one area: almost 90% of immigrants in that province live in Montréal.

Immigrants in Quebec account for less than 10% of the population

Immigrants in Quebec have accounted for less than 10% of that province's population throughout the century. In 1991, for example, the 591,000 immigrants in Quebec represented 9% of the population. Early in the century, immigrants' share of Quebec's population rose from 5% in 1901 to 9% in 1931 before declining to 6% in 1951. Although the proportion of immigrants in that province continues to be well below the national level, immigrants have represented a growing share of Quebec's population since the 1950s.

In 1991, there were over 4.3 million immigrants living in Canada. That year, they represented about 16% of the total population, a proportion that has been relatively stable since the 1950s. Earlier in the century, immigrants made up a much larger share of Canada's population. Between 1901 and 1911, the proportion of the total population who were immigrants rose from 13% to 22%. The proportion remained stable until the 1930s, after which it declined steadily to 15% in 1951.

Immigrants have always accounted for differing proportions of provincial populations. In the early part of the century, as a result of settlement in Western Canada, immigrants made up a very large share of the population in that part of the country.

¹ Does not include non-permanent residents.

In 1911, for example, over half of residents in British Columbia and Alberta (each 57%), half of those in Saskatchewan, and 41% of those in Manitoba were immigrants. These proportions have dropped considerably since then, such that in 1991, immigrants accounted for 22% of people in British Columbia, 15% of those in Alberta, 13% in Manitoba and 6% in Saskatchewan.

In Ontario, immigrants' share of the population has not fluctuated as much as in Western Canada. After rising from 15% in 1901 to 23% in 1931, the proportion of Ontario's population who were immigrants dropped back to 19% in 1951. Since the 1960s, immigrants have represented just under one-quarter of residents of Ontario.

In the Atlantic region, immigrants made up less than 5% of each of the provinces' populations in 1991. Each decade throughout the 1900s, immigrants represented less than 10% of residents of each of the Atlantic provinces, similar to the situation in Quebec.

Almost 9 out of 10 immigrants in Quebec live in Montréal Almost all immigrants lived in four provinces in 1991: 55% in Ontario, 17% in British Columbia, 14% in Quebec and 9% in Alberta. In addition, most immigrants lived in the large urban centres within these provinces.

The vast majority of immigrants in Quebec live in the Montréal census metropolitan area (CMA). In 1991, 88% of all immigrants in that province were living in Montréal, while 45% of Quebec's total population were living there. In comparison, Toronto was home to 62% of Ontario's immigrants and 39% of the provincial population. Similarly, 67% of British Columbia's immigrants lived in Vancouver, compared with 50% of the province's total population.

Within Quebec, the four other CMAs of Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Québec, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières, and the Hull portion of the Ottawa-Hull CMA were home to 6% of immigrants in 1991. In contrast, 19% of Quebec's total population lived in these urban areas.

One result of the concentration of immigrants in Montréal was that 17% of residents of that CMA were immigrants in 1991. Still, this was much lower than the

Top 10 countries of birth for all immigrants, Quebec and the rest of Canada, 1991

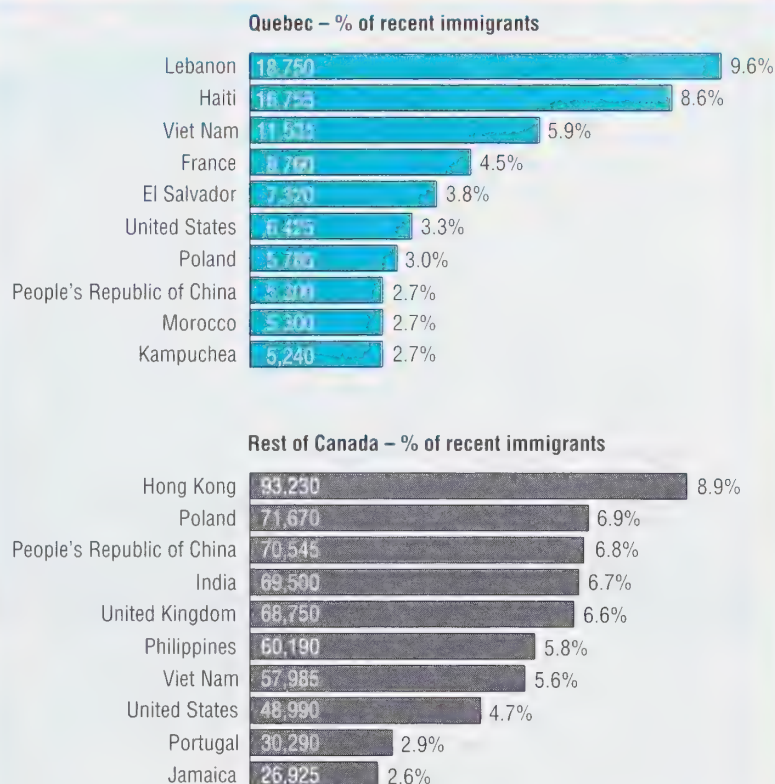
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Quebec			Rest of Canada		
	Number	%		Number	%
Italy	78,685	13.3	United Kingdom	692,145	18.4
France	38,265	6.5	Italy	272,930	7.3
Haiti	37,215	6.3	United States	221,305	5.9
United States	27,770	4.7	Germany	167,815	4.5
Lebanon	25,935	4.4	Poland	165,685	4.4
Greece	25,700	4.3	India	163,965	4.4
United Kingdom	25,605	4.3	Hong Kong	147,355	3.9
Portugal	24,155	4.1	People's Republic of China	147,080	3.9
Viet Nam	20,720	3.5	Portugal	137,025	3.6
Poland	19,010	3.2	Netherlands	126,440	3.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Top 10 countries of birth of recent immigrants,¹ Quebec and the rest of Canada, 1991

CST



¹ Immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1981 and 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

proportion of immigrants in Canada's other two largest CMAs. Immigrants accounted for 38% of the population in Toronto and 30% of that in Vancouver. Immigrants made up less than 5% of the populations of Quebec's other four CMAs and 5% of people in the Hull portion of the Ottawa-Hull CMA. These four CMAs

were among those with the lowest proportions of immigrants in Canada in 1991.

Immigrants in Quebec more likely than those elsewhere to have come to Canada recently

In 1991, one-third of all immigrants in Quebec had arrived during the 1980s, compared with 28% of

those in the rest of Canada. On the other hand, only 23% of immigrants in Quebec had arrived before 1961, compared with 29% of those in the rest of Canada.

In 1991, the proportion of all immigrants in Quebec born in Europe (49%), and Asia and the Middle East (22%) was lower than elsewhere in Canada (55% and 25%, respectively). Proportionately more immigrants in Quebec, however, came from the Caribbean, Central and South America (16%) and Africa (8%) than was the case for those in the rest of Canada (10% and 3%, respectively). Similar percentages of immigrants in Quebec (5%) and elsewhere in Canada (6%) came from the United States.

Recent patterns of immigration are different from those in the past. In the past decade, an increasing proportion of immigrants came from Asia and the Middle East. In Quebec, for example, 42% of immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991 were from Asia and the Middle East, and 20% were from Europe, a reversal of the pattern for earlier years. In the rest of Canada, 49% of recent immigrants were from Asia and the Middle East, and 26% were from Europe.

Considerable differences also exist in the country of birth of immigrants in Quebec and those in other provinces. Among all immigrants living in Quebec in 1991, for example, the leading three countries of birth were Italy, France and Haiti. In the rest of Canada, the top countries of birth were the United Kingdom, Italy and the United States. Furthermore, whereas France, Haiti, Lebanon, Greece and Viet Nam were among the top ten countries of birth of Quebec immigrants, they did not rank in the top ten for the rest of Canada.

Among recent immigrants, an increasing proportion of those living in Quebec were from countries where French is spoken. Among immigrants in Quebec who arrived between 1981 and 1991, the top three countries of birth were Lebanon, Haiti and Viet Nam. In contrast, the top three countries of birth among recent immigrants in the rest of Canada were Hong Kong, Poland and the People's Republic of China.

Almost one-half of immigrants in Quebec are bilingual Most immigrants in Quebec (93%) and elsewhere in

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



Immigration agreements

Since the 1970s, Quebec has negotiated with the federal government several agreements relating to immigration. The first was in 1971, when an agreement between the federal government and the government of Quebec (the Cloutier-Lang agreement) enabled that province to inform potential immigrants living abroad about the distinct character of Quebec.

In 1975, under the Bienvenue-Andras agreement, Quebec was able to approve decisions regarding the selection of immigrants intending to settle in Quebec. Three years later, the Cullen-Couture agreement gave Quebec joint responsibility with the federal government for the selection of independent immigrants wanting to settle in that province. Independent immigrants are those who have been rated on factors such as age, education, training and occupational skills, the demand for their occupation, existence of pre-arranged employment, and knowledge of one of Canada's official languages. Over the past decade, independent immigrants have represented 43% of all immigrants arriving in Quebec and 34% of those arriving in Canada overall.

The Cullen-Couture agreement was replaced in 1991 by the Quebec-Canada Accord. As a result of this agreement, Quebec now has exclusive responsibility for the selection of independent immigrants wanting to settle in that province, and is also responsible for linguistic, cultural and economic integration services for all permanent residents. In addition, Quebec selects refugees and people in similar circumstances identified by the federal government, and applying from abroad. The federal government remains responsible for national immigration standards and objectives, for the admission of all immigrants, and for establishing annually the total number of immigrants for the country as a whole. In setting these levels, the federal government takes into account Quebec's advice on the number of immigrants the province wishes to receive.

One out of five non-permanent residents live in Quebec

Non-permanent residents are people living in Canada who hold student or employment authorizations, or Minister's permits, or who are refugee claimants. Of the 223,000 non-permanent residents in Canada in 1991, 20% (44,000) were living in Quebec. This was higher than the proportion of Canada's immigrants in that province (14%).

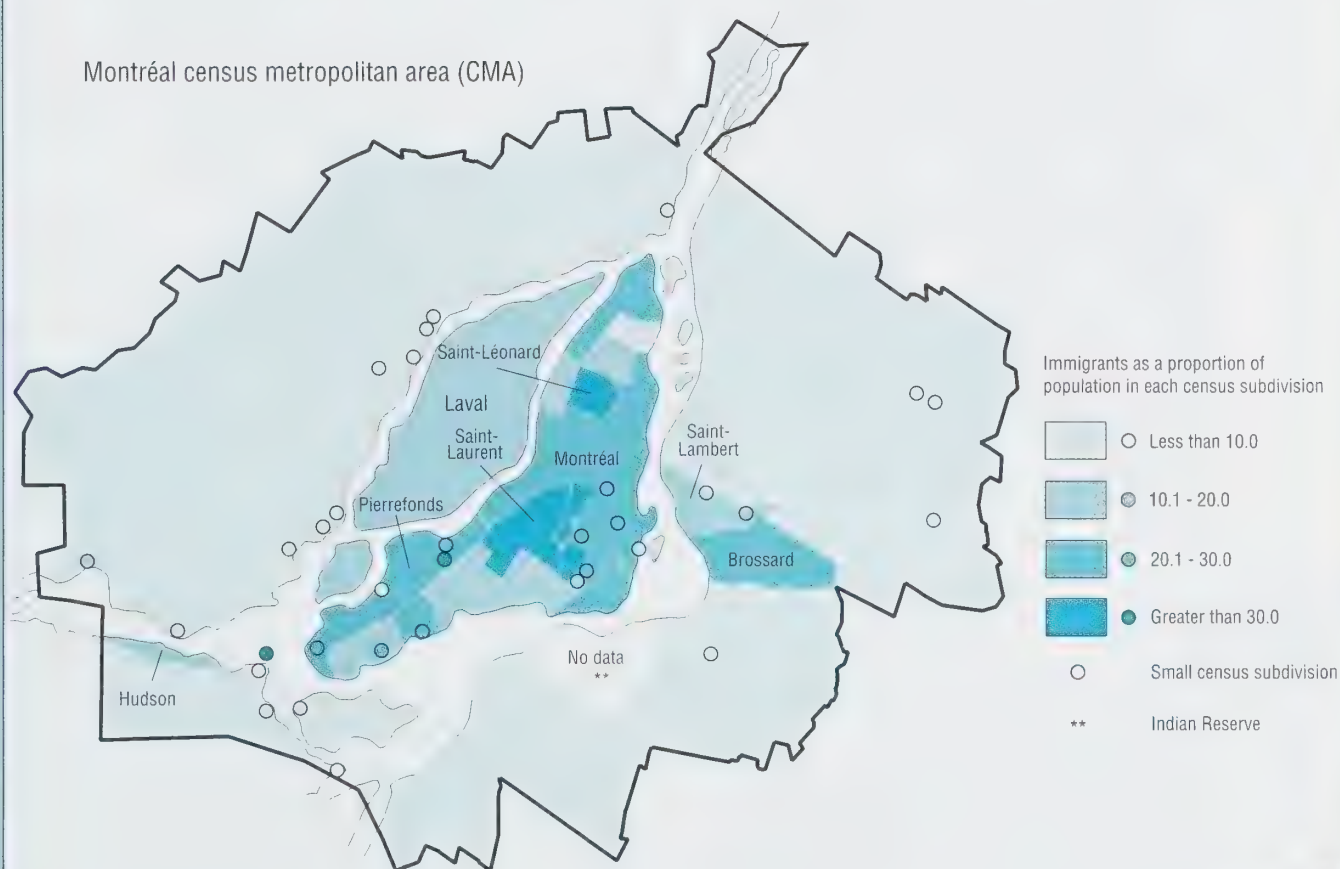
As is the case among immigrants, almost all non-permanent residents in Quebec resided in the Montréal CMA (91%). Another 5% lived in the other four Quebec CMAs, with the remaining 4% living outside these areas.

Immigrants in Quebec, 1991

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Montréal census metropolitan area (CMA)



Source: Statistics Canada,
1991 Census of Canada.

Cartography by the National Atlas Information Service,
Geomatics Canada.



CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Knowledge of official languages of the immigrant and total populations in Quebec, 1991

CST

	All Quebec immigrants	Period of arrival in Quebec		Total Quebec population
		1981-1991	Before 1981	
		%		
English only	23	20	24	6
French only	25	34	21	58
English and French	45	36	50	35
Neither English nor French	7	10	6	1
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	591,210	195,080	396,130	6,810,300

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Canada (94%) were able to speak at least one of Canada's official languages (English and French).² In Quebec, 45% of the immigrant population were able to carry on a conversation in both English and French. In contrast, only 6% of immigrants outside Quebec spoke both languages. Although the proportion of Quebec residents who were bilingual was lower (35%) than among immigrants in that province, it was more than three times higher than for people living elsewhere in Canada (10%).

In Quebec, 25% of immigrants could speak French only, compared with 58% of the total population. In addition, 23% of immigrants in that province could speak English only, whereas this was the case for only 6% of all Quebec residents. Not surprisingly, in the rest of Canada, the proportions of both the immigrant and the total population speaking French only were very low. Similar proportions of immigrants in Quebec (7%) and elsewhere in Canada (6%) could not speak either official language.

The longer immigrants live in the country, the more likely they are to learn Canada's official languages. In 1991, for example, 50% of immigrants living in Quebec who arrived before the 1980s were bilingual, compared with 36% of those who arrived during that decade. Also, 10% of recent immigrants in Quebec were unable to speak either English or French, compared with only 6% of those who arrived before 1981.

Immigrants in Quebec who arrived during the 1980s were more likely to speak French only (34%) than those who arrived before 1981 (21%). At the same time, recent immigrants in Quebec were less likely to speak English only (20%) than were those who arrived before 1981 (24%). The increase in the proportion of immigrants speaking French is likely the result of Quebec's involvement in the selection of immigrants and measures taken to promote the use of French.

Immigrants in Quebec more likely than those elsewhere in Canada to become Canadian citizens Immigrants must live in Canada for at least three years before they can apply for citizenship. By 1991, 85% of immigrants in Quebec who were eligible to obtain Canadian citizenship had done so, compared with 80% in the rest of Canada.

Those who have lived in Canada for a long time are more likely than recent eligible immigrants (those who arrived between 1981 and 1987) to have obtained citizenship. Recent immigrants in Quebec, however, are more likely than those in the rest of the country to have become Canadian citizens. In 1991, for example, among immigrants who had come to Canada between 1981 and 1987, 74% of those living in Quebec had obtained citizenship, compared

with 63% of those elsewhere in the country. Similarly, among immigrants who arrived between 1961 and 1970, 87% of those in Quebec and 81% in the rest of Canada had become Canadian citizens. Overall, a greater proportion (97%) of the total population in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (94%) were Canadian citizens.

Into the 1990s Quebec has exclusive responsibility for the selection of independent immigrants choosing to settle in that province, as well as partial responsibility for selecting refugees abroad. The 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord is the latest in a series of bilateral agreements on immigration between the federal and Quebec governments. It is designed to help Quebec maintain its share of the national population, while attracting immigrants most likely to settle in that province and integrate into Quebec's society.

² This section discusses knowledge of Canada's official languages, which refers to a person's ability to conduct a conversation in English only, French only, both English and French, or neither official language.

Viviane Renaud and Rosalinda Costa are analysts with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CST

Health & Socio-economic inequalities

by Roger Roberge, Jean-Marie Berthelot and Michael Wolfson



Among Canadians born at the end of the last century, one-quarter died before their tenth birthday, less than 40% reached age 65 and very few reached age 85. At that time, the average life expectancy of men was 42 years and of women was 45 years. Since then, however, improvements have occurred in many areas, including

nutrition, sanitation, housing, health care, pre- and post-natal care, and disease prevention. This progress has largely reduced the impact of communicable diseases and thus, the chances of premature death. As a result, life expectancy has increased to 75 years for males born in 1991 and 81 years for females born that year.

As people age, however, many will develop minor ailments, such as deteriorating vision and hearing. Furthermore, with advanced age, people often develop severe health problems resulting in, for example, mobility problems and chronic pain. As a result, although Canadians can now expect to live much longer than in the past, it is not clear to what extent these added years of life are spent in full health or not. To address this question, a Health Status Index (HSI) was created that combines various health characteristics reported by adults on the 1991 General Social Survey.

According to the HSI, most Canadians spend the vast majority of their lives with a high level of health, with periods of ill-health usually occurring at older ages. Age, however, is not the only factor related to health. Those with low household incomes, low educational attainment, low-skilled occupations or without paid

work are, on average, in poorer health than other adults.

Most adults are very healthy Most adult Canadians are either in perfect health or have ailments of a minor nature that can be fully corrected, such as near- or far-sightedness or a slight hearing loss. Using the HSI to measure overall health, 79% of men and 77% of women in 1991 had a high level of health (an HSI score of 80% or greater). About one-third of adults (34% of men and 27% of women) reported that they had perfect health (an HSI score of 100%).

Health problems are more common among older than younger people. The proportion of adults reporting themselves to be in perfect health in 1991 declined from 50% of men and 41% of women aged 15 to 34 to only 7% of men and 6% of women aged 55 and over. Almost two-thirds of older adults aged 55 to 74,

however, did report having a high level of health (an HSI score of 80% or greater). Even among people aged 75 and over, more than 40% of men and women reported having a high level of health.

Many adults who had serious health problems, however, were residing in institutions, such as nursing homes and hospitals, and were not part of this analysis. This is because the 1991 General Social Survey included only adults living in private households. The proportion of seniors, especially those aged 75 and over, reporting a high level of health would probably have been lower if it had been possible to include those living in institutions.

Emotional problems, vision and hearing loss, and pain increase most with age Health problems related to vision, hearing, speech, mobility, emotional state, thinking and memory, dexterity, and level of pain and discomfort tended to be more prevalent among older age groups. The extent to which the HSI declined with each subsequent age group, however, differed for each of these components of health. In addition, there were differences between men and women.

Men and women of all ages reported a lower level of emotional health than of all other components of health. Men's score for emotional state declined more from younger to older age groups than did any other component of men's health. Women's score for emotional state also declined sharply with age. In addition, both men's and women's scores for vision and hearing loss, and pain and discomfort declined steadily from younger to older age groups. Mobility difficulties, on the other hand, varied little by age until age 75. Among those aged 75 and over, mobility difficulties were more severe for women than men. Men and women of all ages reported a high level of dexterity, and thinking and memory.

Few years of ill health expected for most adults¹ Although health problems tend to become more common as people age, periods of ill health may be experienced not only at the end of a life, but also in episodes during life or, for some, throughout life. In addition, the severity

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER



The Health Status Index

The Health Status Index (HSI) was developed at McMaster University¹ and, although still provisional, represents a new way to measure the health of the population. This index measures health status by combining two components: a description and a valuation of health. For this analysis, the descriptive component was developed using the 1991 General Social Survey, in which respondents were asked a series of questions related to their own health in several areas: vision, hearing, speech, mobility, emotional state, thinking and memory, dexterity, and level of pain and discomfort. The valuation component was derived from responses to a survey conducted by McMaster University asking individuals to rank various health conditions in order of the severity of their effects on a person's health. The descriptive and valuation components for each health area were combined to produce an overall index score for each respondent.

This type of index can be used to rank all health states experienced in a population. Using the state of death as a reference point equalling 0%, the HSI can range in value from perfect health (100%) to states rated worse than death (less than zero). In this analysis, an HSI score of 80% or greater was considered a high level of health.

For more information on this subject, contact the authors at the Health Analysis and Modelling Group, Social and Economic Studies Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0T6 (E-mail: roberog@statcan.ca).

¹ G.W. Torrance, Y. Zhang, D. Feeny and W. Furlong. "Multi-attribute Preference Functions for a Comprehensive Health Status Classification System." Hamilton: McMaster University Centre for Health Economics and Policy Analysis, 1992: Paper 92-18, 1-61.

of episodes of ill health can vary throughout a lifetime.

In general, women can expect to live longer than men but can also expect to spend more time with health problems. Women at age 15 in 1991 could expect to live another 67 years and to spend the equivalent of 9 years with ill health. Men that age, on the other hand, could expect to live only 60 more years and to have the equivalent of 7 years with ill health. Similarly, women at age 65 in 1991 could expect to live another 20 years and to spend the equivalent of 4 years with ill health. Men that age could expect to live only another 16 years, 3 of which would be spent with ill health.

Adults with low socio-economic status are more likely to have health problems

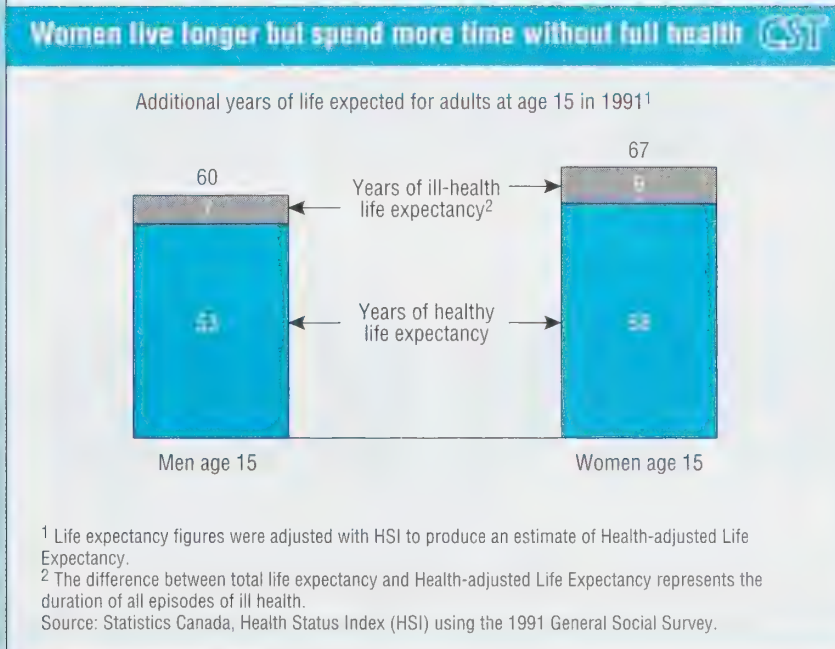
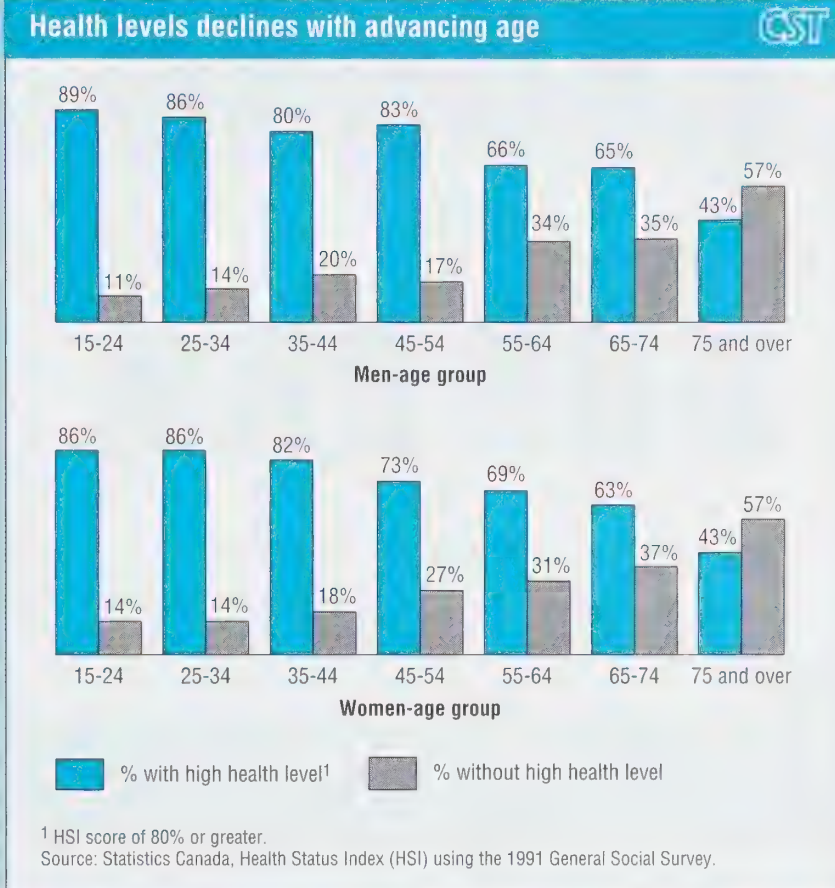
When the HSI was used to examine the health of Canadians at different ages in relation to their socio-economic characteristics, the results were consistent: having a low level of educational attainment, being unemployed, being an unskilled worker or living in a household with a low income were all related to having lower health levels.

Although there is clearly a relationship between socio-economic status and health, it is not possible to determine from the HSI whether having higher socio-economic status makes or keeps people healthy, or whether being healthy allows people to attain higher status. A recent study suggests, however, that higher socio-economic status (as measured by employment earnings) has a positive influence on health.²

Differences in health levels by socio-economic status were particularly strong among adults aged 45 to 64. This is likely because by that age, adults have begun to experience the cumulative effects on their health of the lifestyles and life experiences they have had in the past. Among seniors, especially those aged 75 and over, there are still differences in health by socio-economic status. The results, however, are

less clear because many of those who were less healthy at younger ages have died or have been institutionalized, leaving a relatively healthy population of seniors living in private households.

Educational attainment: Adults without a high level of educational attainment had lower health levels. Among men, differences in health status by education were particularly strong at ages 55 to 64. After



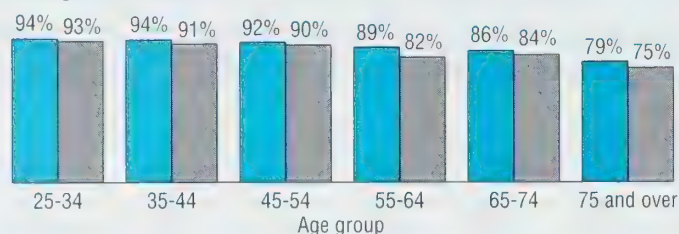
¹ To evaluate the burden of ill health, life expectancy figures were adjusted with the HSI. This measure is known as Health-adjusted Life Expectancy.

² M. Wolfson, G. Rowe, J.F. Gentleman and M. Tomiak. "Career Earnings and Death: A Longitudinal Analysis of Older Canadian Men." *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*, 1993: Vol. 48-4, S167-S179.

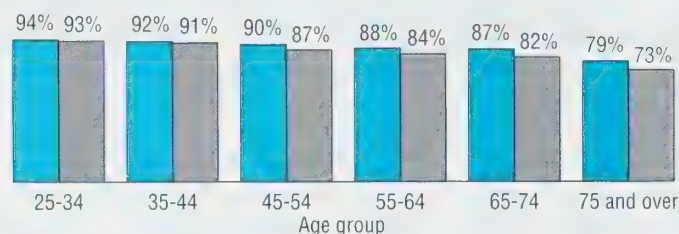
Adults with low educational attainment have lower health levels

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Average HSI score for men



Average HSI score for women



High level of educational attainment¹ Low level of educational attainment

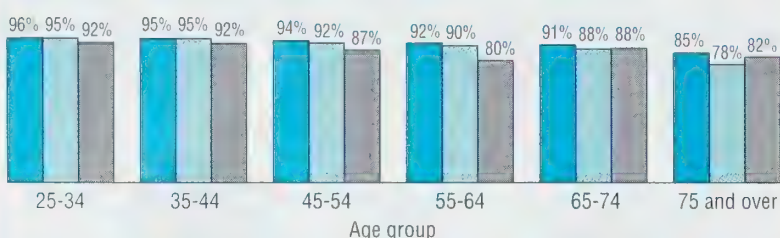
¹ Those under age 55 were considered as having a high level of education if they had at least a postsecondary diploma. Adults aged 55 and over had a high level of education if they had at least a high school diploma.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Status Index (HSI) using the 1991 General Social Survey.

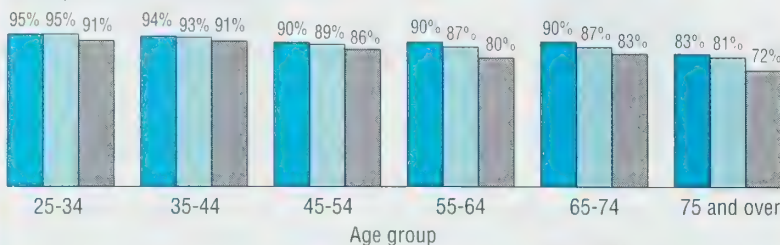
Adults with low household incomes have lower health levels

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Average HSI score for men



Average HSI score for women



Household income: High Middle Low

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Status Index (HSI) using the 1991 General Social Survey.

age 65, differences persisted but were not as great. Among women, on the other hand, large differences in health levels emerged at age 45 and continued throughout the older age groups.

Given that the educational attainment of the population has been increasing over time, the concept of a higher education is relative to a person's age. For this analysis, adults under age 55 were



considered as having a high level of education if they had at least a post-secondary diploma, while those aged 55 and over were considered as having a high level of education if they had completed high school.

Employment: Men and women aged 25 to 64 who were looking for work, going to school, or keeping house had lower



health levels than those with paid employment. Differences in health levels by type of main activity were particularly strong among men. This may be because men are more likely than women to be without paid work as a result of an involuntary situation, such as a job loss or a debilitating health problem.

Of those with paid work, unskilled workers had lower health levels than skilled workers or professionals. Among men aged 25 to 64 and women aged 35 to 64, unskilled workers had the lowest health levels, while professionals had the highest.

Household income: When adults were divided into three groups based on their household income, those living with the lowest household incomes had, on average, the lowest health levels.³ The relationship between low household income and lower health status was particularly strong for both men and women aged 45 to 64.

Among senior women, those with the lowest household incomes had, on average, lower health levels than those with either middle or high incomes. Among senior men, however, those with middle incomes had the lowest average health levels.

Household income may not be as good an indicator of the socio-economic status of seniors as it is of younger adults. Many adults aged 65 and over have made a transition from work to retirement and hence have recently moved to a lower income level. Also, while many seniors have a low income, some have assets, such as a mortgage-free home.

Low incomes associated with greater health risks Many factors influence a person's health, including biological make-up, environment and lifestyle. Recent health surveys have shown that adults living in households with low incomes are more likely than others to engage in activities, such as smoking, that may place their health at risk.

According to the 1990 Health Promotion Survey, adults living in households with low incomes were more likely than others to be daily smokers and to use tranquilizers or sleeping pills. They were also less likely to have known some of the causes of heart disease and some of

the methods used to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Among those who smoked, adults with low incomes were less likely than others to intend to quit smoking in order to improve their health.

HSI as a monitor of changes in the health of the population Currently, the measurement of health is dominated by statistics related to administrative information, such as the number of doctors, deaths and hospital days. These types of measures, while useful for certain applications, provide only a superficial accounting of changes in the health of the population. To fully evaluate the health of Canadians, people's health status needs to be measured and examined over time.

The Health Status Index (HSI) provides such a measure. If made available periodically, the HSI could be used to monitor changes in disparities in health status among different groups within the population, and to evaluate the effectiveness of health promotion programs and other health policies.

³ Household income was adjusted for household size to reflect the increasing draw on household resources that additional household members present. Since income level varies with age, individuals within each age group were ranked from those with the highest household income to those with the lowest household income. Individuals were then divided into three groups (low, middle and high income).

Roger Roberge is an analyst and **Jean-Marie Berthelot** is a senior analyst with the Health Analysis and Modelling Group; **Michael Wolfson** is the Director General of the Institutions and Social Statistics Branch, Statistics Canada.

CST

Canada's National Capital Region...

A PROFILE OF OTTAWA-HULL

by Jeffrey Frank

Ottawa-Hull, with nearly one million residents, is Canada's fourth largest census metropolitan area (CMA) and the only one to cross provincial boundaries.

As the National Capital Region, Ottawa-Hull is the centre of federal public sector activity. About one-quarter of people in the CMA's labour force worked in the government services industry (mostly at the federal level) at the time of the 1991 Census.

Since that time, however, employment in other industries including tourism and high technology has grown.

With the federal public service facing a period of significant transition, these other industries may become increasingly important in Ottawa-Hull.



The region's population is highly educated and a large proportion of residents can speak both of Canada's official languages. Although almost half of Ottawa-Hull's population are of French-only or British-only origin, the CMA also has a high degree of ethnic diversity. The area has long been an important destination for immigrants and is home to a number of thriving ethnic communities.

Population growth above national average Between 1986 and 1991, the population of the Ottawa-Hull CMA increased 12% to 920,900 people. This increase was larger than the population growth in the Montréal CMA (7%), but smaller than that in the Vancouver (16%) and Toronto (13%) CMAs. Over the same period, Canada's population grew by only 8%.

Three-quarters of the Ottawa-Hull population live in municipalities in the Ontario part of the CMA. In 1991, just over one-third (34%) of Ottawa-Hull residents lived in the city of Ottawa, while 30% lived in the cities of Nepean, Gloucester or Kanata. Twenty percent of Ottawa-Hull residents lived in the Quebec municipalities of Hull, Gatineau and Aylmer.

A young population Ottawa-Hull's population is slightly younger than that of the country as a whole. Only 10% of people living in Ottawa-Hull in 1991 were aged 65 and over, compared with 12% of people across Canada. The median age of Ottawa-Hull residents was 32.9 years in 1991. This is the age at which half the population is younger and half is older. The median age of Ottawa-Hull residents was lower than that of people in Montréal (34.5), Vancouver (34.5) and Toronto (33.3), and of people across Canada (33.5 years).

French-only and British-only origins common As in Canada overall, nearly one-half of Ottawa-Hull residents reported a single ethnic origin of either French (29%) or British (19%) in 1991. Not surprisingly, a higher proportion of people living in the Quebec part of Ottawa-Hull reported a French-only origin (71%) than of those living on the Ontario side (16%). Nonetheless, some communities in the eastern part of the Ontario side of the CMA were predominantly French. Almost all residents with British-only origins (93%) lived on the Ontario side.

In 1991, 20% of people living in Ottawa-Hull reported single ethnic origins other than British or French. Commonly reported single ethnic origins included Italian, Canadian, Chinese, German and Lebanese (each between 1% and 2%). About one-third of Ottawa-Hull residents reported having more than one ethnic origin. Most people with single ethnic origins other than French or British (90%) and with multiple ethnic origins (88%) lived on the Ontario side of the CMA.

Proportion of immigrants in Ottawa-Hull lower than in the three largest CMAs In 1991, 15% of all people living in Ottawa-Hull were immigrants. This was lower than the proportions in Toronto (38%), Vancouver (30%) and Montréal (17%). The vast majority of immigrants in Ottawa-Hull (91%) lived on the Ontario side of the CMA.

Most Ottawa-Hull immigrants came from either European countries other than the United Kingdom (31%) or Asia (28%). Many were from the United Kingdom (18%), while smaller proportions came from the Caribbean and Bermuda (6%), Africa (6%), the United States (5%), and Central and South America (4%).

One-third of Ottawa-Hull's immigrants (34%) came to Canada between 1981 and 1991. Another 22% arrived between 1971 and 1980, 19% between 1961 and 1970, and 24% immigrated to Canada before 1961. Immigrants who arrived before 1971 came mainly from the United Kingdom and other European countries

such as Italy and Germany. Recent immigrants were more likely to have come from countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America.

Also in 1991, there were 7,300 non-permanent residents living in the Ottawa-Hull area. Non-permanent residents are people living in Canada who hold student or employment authorizations, or Minister's permits, or who are refugee claimants. Diplomats and foreign military personnel are excluded from the Census. Ottawa-Hull,

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUND

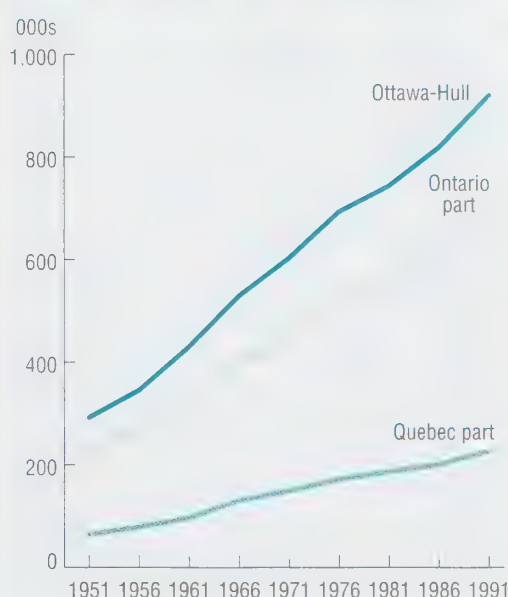
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Ottawa-Hull: an expanding urban area

Statistics Canada introduced the concept of a census metropolitan area (CMA) in 1941. Periodically, the CMA concept has been modified and the CMA boundaries updated to reflect changing social and economic realities. Commuting characteristics, for example, have been taken into account since 1976. As a result, population figures for Ottawa-Hull represent the population in an area that has expanded over time. The evolving CMA definition reflects more accurately the reality of growth in the Ottawa-Hull urban area than would a static CMA concept.

The population of the Ottawa-Hull CMA grew to over 900,000 in 1991 from less than 300,000 in 1951

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Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

with its many embassies and trade consulates, has a large diplomatic community.

Of the Canadian-born population living in the CMA, 72% were born in their current province of residence and the remaining 28% were born in other parts of Canada. It is likely that jobs, mostly in the public sector, as well as educational opportunities, attracted a large proportion of interprovincial migrants to the CMA.

English (53%) and French (33%) the most common mother tongues A person's mother tongue is the language that he or she first learned at home and still understands. Of people in Ottawa-Hull who gave a single response on the 1991 Census, 53% reported English and 33% reported French as their mother tongue. The proportion reporting French was higher than the national level (24%), but lower than the proportion in the province of Quebec (82%).

Smaller groups of people in Ottawa-Hull reported other languages as their mother tongue, including Arabic (1.3%), Chinese (1.2%) and Italian (1.2%). About 3% of the Ottawa-Hull population reported more than one mother tongue. Of these, 58% had both English and French as a mother tongue, 29% had English and a non-official language, and 6% had French and a non-official language.

At 43%, Ottawa-Hull has a high rate of bilingualism Many people in Ottawa-Hull can conduct a conversation in both of Canada's official languages. In addition to those who learned both English and French during childhood, many more Ottawa-Hull residents learned a second language later in life and consider themselves bilingual. In 1991, 43% were able to carry on a conversation in both English and French. Only the Montréal CMA had a higher rate of official language bilingualism (48%).

The high level of bilingualism in Ottawa-Hull is not surprising, given the CMA's location on the Ontario/Quebec border, its ethnic composition and the concentration of public sector activity. People on the Quebec side of the CMA were more likely to speak both official languages than were those living on the Ontario side. In the Quebec part of Ottawa-Hull, 60% of residents were bilingual. In comparison, 37% of people on the Ontario side could speak both official languages. Still, this was more than twice as high as the national proportion (16%).

Most Ottawa-Hull residents are Catholic Most people in the Ottawa-Hull CMA are Catholic, reflecting the sizable and mainly Catholic francophone population, as well as the Italian community. In 1991, 57% of Ottawa-Hull residents were Catholic, compared with 46% of all people in Canada. Not surprisingly, a greater proportion of residents on the Quebec side of Ottawa-Hull were Catholic (88%) than on the Ontario side (47%). While Protestants accounted for 36% of all people in Canada, only 27% of Ottawa-Hull residents were Protestant.

Islam was the religion of 2% (twice the national proportion) of people living in Ottawa-Hull. Other non-Christian religions accounted for relatively small proportions of people in the CMA: Jewish people (1%), Buddhists (0.7%), Hindus (0.5%) and Sikhs (0.2%).

The proportion of people in the CMA with no religious affiliation (10%) was lower than the national average (13%).

Again, there were significant differences between the Ontario and Quebec parts of Ottawa-Hull. While 12% of people living on the Ontario side had no religious affiliation, this was the case for only 5% of those on the Quebec side.

A highly educated population Ottawa-Hull's adult population is highly educated. In 1991, 20% of people aged 15 and over had a university degree. This was nearly twice the national proportion (11%) and also higher than the proportion in Toronto (17%), Vancouver (14%) and Montréal (13%).

Only 9% of adults living in the Ottawa-Hull CMA had less than a Grade 9 education, compared with 14% of all adults in Canada. The presence of a large public sector and the service industries associated with it has fostered and attracted an educated population. Ottawa-Hull's young age structure also contributes to the region's relatively high educational attainment profile.

People in the Ontario part of Ottawa-Hull have higher levels of educational attainment than do those living in the Quebec part. In 1991, 23% of adult residents on the Ontario side had a university degree, compared with 12% of those living on the Quebec side. Similarly, 15% of Ottawa-Hull residents living in Quebec had less than a Grade 9 education, while this was the case for only 7% of those on the Ontario side.

Most young adults in Ottawa-Hull were attending school in 1991. Two-thirds of the Ottawa-Hull population aged 15 to 24 were in school full-time (59%) or part-time (8%). This was higher than the proportion of all young adults in Canada who were attending school full- or part-time that year (62%). The high proportion of young adults in school is likely related to the educational opportunities offered in the CMA. In addition to two college/university preparatory institutions in Hull (CEGEPs), Ottawa-Hull is home to five other postsecondary educational institutions: the University of Ottawa (the only fully bilingual university in Canada), Carleton University, Saint Paul's University, the Université du Québec à Hull and Algonquin College.

A mobile population Among the Ottawa-Hull population aged 5 and over, 54% had moved at least once during the five years prior to the 1991 Census. Nearly one-half (48%) had moved within the Ottawa-Hull CMA, 30% had moved from within their own province, 14% had moved from other provinces and 9% had moved from outside the country. Even during the year before the 1991 Census, Ottawa-Hull gained 20,500 migrants from provinces and territories outside of Ontario and Quebec, and 10,600 migrants from outside the country.

High level of labour force activity In 1991, 80% of men and 66% of women aged 15 and over in Ottawa-Hull were in the labour force, that is, they were either working or actively looking for work. These labour force participation rates were higher than those at the national level and those for the three largest CMAs. Across Canada in 1991, the participation rate was 76% for men and 60% for women. In Toronto, labour force participation was 79% for men and 65% for women; in Vancouver, it was 77% for men and 63% for women; and in Montréal, labour force participation was 76% for men and 58% for women.

Labour force participation was slightly higher on the Ontario side of the Ottawa-Hull CMA. For both men and women, the

participation rate was about 1% higher in the Ontario part of Ottawa-Hull than in the Quebec part.

Many Ottawa-Hull residents are inter-provincial commuters Within the Ottawa-Hull CMA in 1991, about 41,000 people who lived in Quebec (35% of the Quebec side's employed labour force) commuted to the Ontario side of Ottawa-Hull to work. In addition, a substantial but smaller number (16,000 or 8% of the Ontario side's employed labour force) lived in Ontario and commuted to Quebec. Many federal government offices are located on the Quebec side.

24% of Ottawa-Hull's labour force in government services... In 1991, nearly one person in four in the Ottawa-Hull labour force worked in the government services industry. Although this category includes provincial and municipal government workers, most (84%) worked for the federal government. Smaller proportions of the Ottawa-Hull labour force worked in wholesale and retail trade industries (14%), in business and health and social services (each 9%), in educational services (7%) and in manufacturing (6%). Only 1% of the Ottawa-Hull labour force worked in primary industries.

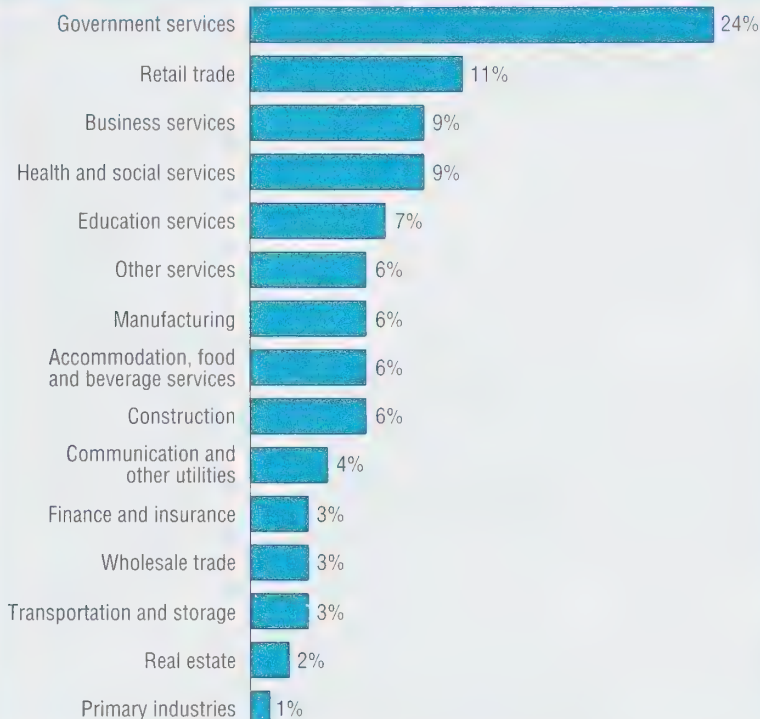
Across Canada, workers were not as concentrated in the government services industry (8%) as they were in Ottawa-Hull. Other industries, conversely, employed proportionately more people. Manufacturing and primary industries, for example, accounted for 15% and 6%, respectively, of the total Canadian labour force.

...but the employment picture is changing Employment in Ottawa-Hull has grown in recent years. According to the Labour Force Survey, average annual employment in Ottawa-Hull increased from 493,000 in 1989, to 503,000 in 1991 and to 521,000 in 1994. The proportion of employed people who worked in the government services industry, however, varied between 23% and 24% during the period 1989 to 1993, before dropping to 21.5% in 1994.

Most of the growth in employment between 1989 and 1994 occurred in non-government services. The service industry

In 1991, 24% of Ottawa-Hull's labour force worked in the government service industry

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

Employment has grown in Ottawa-Hull but the proportion in government services has decreased

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.



(excluding government services) accounted for 41% of employment in Ottawa-Hull in 1994, up from 37% in 1989. In addition, the high-technology industry has reached higher prominence in recent years. According to the Ottawa-Carleton Economic Development Corporation, the number of high-technology related companies in the area grew from just under 500 at the end of 1993 to over 600 one year later. These companies are involved in growth areas such as software development and systems integration.

Nearly one-fifth of the Ottawa-Hull labour force have managerial or administrative occupations

The presence of a large public sector industry partially accounts for the relatively high proportion of workers in managerial or administrative jobs. In 1991, 19% of men and 16% of women in Ottawa-Hull's labour force were in such positions. This was notably higher than the proportion of men (14%) and women (10%) in these types of jobs across the country.

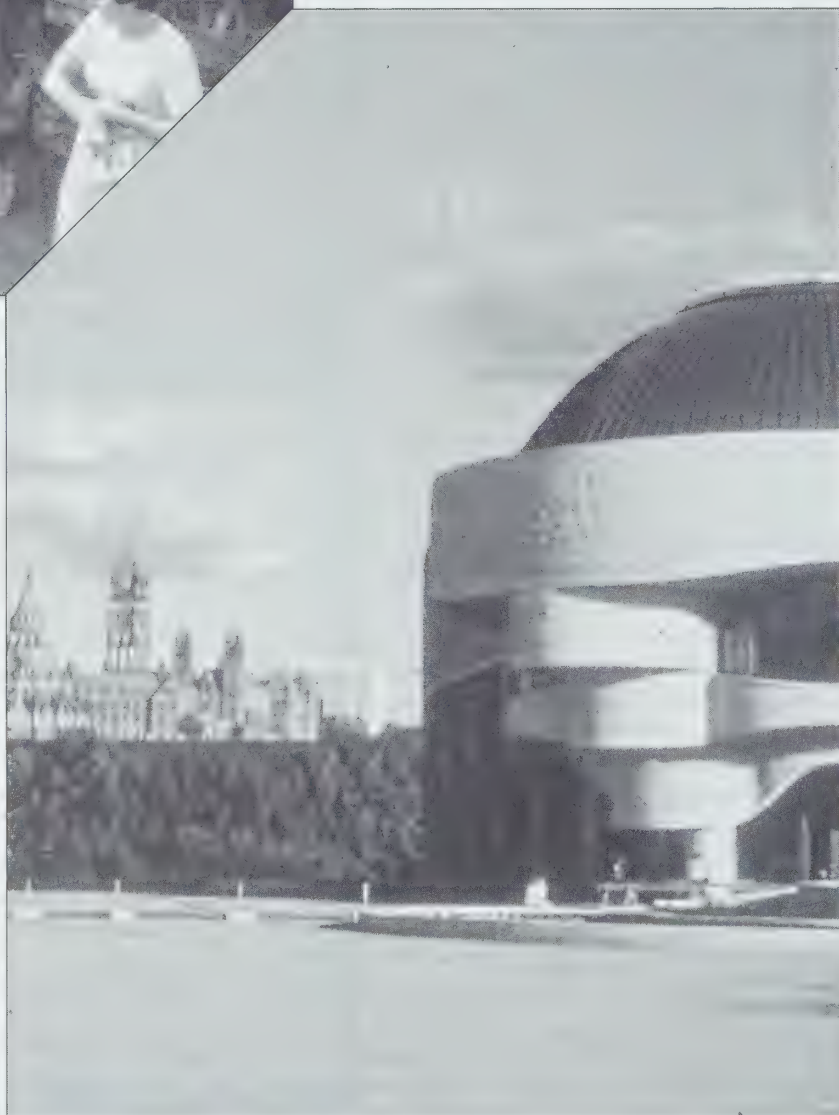
Ottawa-Hull's labour force also had a higher concentration of workers in clerical occupations than did the Canadian labour force in general. In

1991, clerical jobs accounted for 35% of the female and 10% of the male labour force in Ottawa-Hull. In comparison, 32% of women and 7% of men held clerical jobs in the Canadian labour force as a whole.

In 1991, 13% of Ottawa-Hull's labour force worked in the natural and social sciences, compared with 8% of the labour force across Canada. The presence of the public service and the high-technology industry in Ottawa-Hull likely accounted for much of this difference.

Household incomes in the Ottawa-Hull CMA higher than the national average

In 1990, 27% of Ottawa-Hull households had incomes of \$70,000 or more, compared with only 18% of households across the country. Of the largest CMAs, only Toronto had a higher proportion of households with incomes of \$70,000 or more (30%). Vancouver (22%) and Montréal (16%) had substantially smaller proportions of households with high incomes.



Households on the Ontario side of Ottawa-Hull have higher incomes than those on the Quebec side. In 1990, 30% of households on the Ontario side had incomes of \$70,000 or more, compared with 20% of those on the Quebec side. Conversely, only 17% of Ottawa-Hull households in Ontario had incomes under \$20,000, while this was true for 20% of those in Quebec. At the national level, 24% of all households had incomes under \$20,000. Within Canada's largest CMAs, incomes under \$20,000 were found among 27% of households in Montréal, 22% of those in Vancouver, and 16% of those in Toronto.

Many Ottawa-Hull residents had low incomes Although average household incomes in Ottawa-Hull were relatively high in 1990, 12% of families, representing 131,000 people, had incomes below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs (LICOs).¹ In addition, 33% of unattached individuals (42,700 people) were living with low incomes that year.

The proportion of families and unattached individuals living with low incomes was lower in Ottawa-Hull than in Montréal, Vancouver and Canada as a whole. In 1990, 19% of families in Montréal, 14% of those in Vancouver and 13% of those in Canada had low

incomes. This was the case for 45% of unattached individuals in Montréal, 38% of those in Vancouver and 37% of those in Canada. In Toronto, the proportions of families (12%) and unattached individuals (32%) living with low incomes were about the same as those in Ottawa-Hull.

The incidence of low income was slightly higher in the Quebec part of the Ottawa-Hull CMA, where 14% of families and 39% of unattached individuals had incomes below the LICOs in 1990. In comparison, 11% of families and 32% of unattached individuals on the Ontario side of Ottawa-Hull were living with low incomes that year.

A community in transition Although traditionally dependent on government and related industries, Ottawa-Hull's economy has become more diversified in recent years. Since 1991, tourism, high technology and other service industries have grown, while the public service has decreased. Further declines in public sector employment are expected in the future. The long-term impact of these public and private sector changes on the social and economic well-being of this community remains uncertain.

¹ These cut-offs were determined from an analysis of 1986 family expenditure data. Families who, on average, spent 20% more of their total income than did the average family on food, shelter and clothing were considered to have low incomes. The LICO for a family of three living in Canada's largest cities was under \$24,400 in 1990.

Jeffrey Frank is an Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

The Public Service in the National Capital Region

According to the Treasury Board of Canada, as of March 1994, there were over 73,000 federal public servants in the National Capital Region (NCR) working in 80 different departments and agencies. Of these public servants, 24% worked in the Quebec part of the region. Altogether, public service employees in the NCR represented 32% of all federal public service workers across Canada.

In 1994, 41% of public service workers in the NCR had administrative and foreign service occupations, and 29% had administrative support positions. The remaining public service employees in the NCR were in the scientific/professional (14%), technical (9%), and operational and executive (4% each) occupational categories.

Indicators of household income, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, 1990

CST

	Ottawa-Hull			Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver
	Total	Ontario part	Quebec part			
Average household income(\$)	54,398	56,470	47,881	59,450	43,405	50,573
% of families with incomes below Low Income Cut-offs	12	11	14	12	19	14
% of households with incomes of \$70,000 or more	27	30	20	30	16	22

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 95-330, 95-351 and 95-354.

CST

THEIR OWN BOSS

by Arthur Gardner

The Self-employed in Canada

SELF-EMPLOYMENT CAN INVOLVE WORKING AS A professional, a business owner/operator, an artist, a tradesperson or a child-care giver. Often, being self-employed requires extensive education and training, or expertise in a particular field gained through years of work experience. In addition, having access to the capital necessary to start a business is sometimes a prerequisite for self-employment. There are many self-employment opportunities, however, that do not involve such extensive requirements.

Self-employment can offer many benefits, including a great degree of flexibility in work arrangements. It can also be a highly lucrative prospect. For some, however, self-employment does not offer the same advantages as working for someone else. Self-employed people who work independently, for example, have lower average incomes than other workers. In addition, the self-employed generally have no recourse to unemployment insurance, have no company-sponsored health or other benefits and must plan for their own retirement.

Being self-employed can also involve long hours and hard work, and many self-employed people work well past normal retirement age. For some, however, this is a matter of choice.

Self-employment has decreased over the long term Despite increases between 1981 and 1991, total self-employment in Canada declined dramatically in the past 60 years, from 25% of all workers in 1931 to 10% in 1991. This was largely because employment in agriculture, where self-employment was particularly high, declined as a proportion of all employment. In 1991, only 4% of all Canadian workers were in agriculture, down from 30% in 1931. Moreover, the rate of self-employment in agriculture dropped slightly during this period to 50% from 57%.

Over the same period, self-employment in industries other than agriculture remained relatively stable. In 1991, 8% of the non-agricultural labour force were self-employed. This was higher than the proportion in 1971 (7%), but lower than that in 1931 (9%). The remainder of this article focuses on the 1.2 million people who identified themselves on the 1991 Census as being self-employed in non-agricultural industries.



Self-employed more likely to employ others now than in the past

The self-employed can either be "employers" who have people working for them or "independent workers" who do not. The proportion of the self-employed with people working for them (employers) has almost doubled since the 1930s. In 1991, nearly one-half (570,800) of those self-employed in non-agricultural industries reported being employers, up from one-quarter in 1931.

This reflects several overlapping factors. The number of businesses in manufacturing and construction has been growing. These businesses normally require more than one person to operate. In addition, operation of businesses in many resource-based industries, including fishing and forestry, has changed. Work in these industries is now more often done by "companies" of workers than by individuals. Also, the number of skilled, independent tradespeople (such as shoemakers or cabinetmakers) has declined. These people may find it difficult to compete with the manufacturing capabilities of larger companies.

Self-employed tend to be older than other workers

The self-employed are an older population than the rest of the labour force. Less than two-thirds of self-employed people were either aged 15 to 34 (27%) or 35 to 44 (33%). In contrast, three-quarters of other workers were either aged 15 to 34 (49%) or 35 to 44 (26%). The average age of self-employed people with others working for them was slightly higher (43) than that of the independently self-employed (42). Other workers (that is, employees working for another person or company) were somewhat younger, with an average age of 36 in 1991.

It is not surprising that the self-employed are older given that occupations associated with self-employment often require years of work experience, training or both. Also, older people are more likely than younger adults to have access to the capital required to start and run a business.

Self-employed work longer hours...

The self-employed, particularly those who have others working for them, work longer hours than do other workers. Employers worked an average of 47 hours per week in 1991, while independently

self-employed people worked an average of 40 hours per week. Other workers, in comparison, worked 37 hours per week on average.

Self-employed people who had others working for them had a lower rate of part-time work (9%) than did workers who were not self-employed (20%). Independent workers, however, were most likely to work part-time (25%).

...and tend to defer retirement The self-employed are more likely to work to a later age in life than other workers. About 17% of employers and independent workers were aged 55 and over, compared with 10% of other workers. Similarly, about 5% of the self-employed were aged 65 and over, while this was the case for only 1% of other workers.

This tendency can be attributed to several factors. For example, although Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs) and other methods of saving are commonplace, the absence of structured pension plans for the self-employed can lead some to continue working past the point at which they may have liked to end their careers. On the other hand, with the flexibility that being one's own boss affords, and given the absence of predefined company retirement rules, the self-employed person may be able to work

to a later age and ease more gradually into retirement, choosing reduced work hours and greater reliance on employees.

Most self-employed are men, but women's share is growing The self-employed work force is predominantly male, with men making up three-quarters of employers and two-thirds of independent workers in 1991. Women's share of self-employed workers, however, has grown substantially, particularly in the past decade. In 1931, women accounted for 19% of independent workers and 4% of employers. Even as late as 1981, women made up just 26% of the independently self-employed and 17% of employers. By 1991, these proportions had increased to 34% and 24%, respectively.

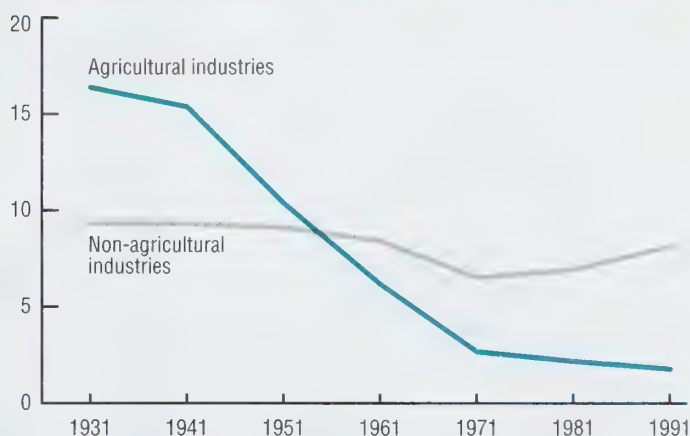
Similar to the overall situation among women and men in the labour force, self-employed women are more likely than self-employed men to work part-time. In 1991, 31% of self-employed women worked part-time, compared with 11% of self-employed men. Many women may choose part-time employment because of the flexibility in work arrangements that this type of work can offer.

An educated work force In 1991, 24% of employers and 18% of independent workers had a university degree. In

Self-employment in non-agricultural industries has remained relatively stable since 1931

CST

Self-employed as a % of the labour force



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Most common occupations, 1991

CST

	Occupation	Number	%
Self-employed employers			
Men	Sales supervisors	34,845	8.1
	General managers	33,095	7.7
	Sales and advertising	26,925	6.2
	Construction foremen/women	22,535	5.2
	Physicians	19,285	4.5
	Lawyers	18,805	4.4
	Other managers	15,860	3.7
	Accountants/auditors	12,685	2.9
	Services management	12,545	2.9
	Carpenters	10,185	2.4
	Other	224,975	52.1
	Total	431,740	100.0
Women	Sales supervisors	18,085	13.0
	Bookkeepers/accounting clerks	11,050	7.9
	Sales and advertising	9,540	6.9
	Barbers/hairdressers	7,855	5.6
	Services management	6,630	4.8
	Other managers	6,105	4.4
	Secretaries/stenographers	5,825	4.2
	Food and beverage supervisors	5,585	4.0
	General managers	5,390	3.9
	Physicians	4,870	3.5
	Other	58,130	41.8
	Total	139,065	100.0
Independently self-employed			
Men	Sales clerks and sales	31,840	8.3
	Carpenters	23,835	6.2
	Truck drivers	21,445	5.6
	Motor vehicle mechanics	10,445	2.7
	Taxi drivers	9,725	2.5
	Sales/advertising managers	8,420	2.2
	Accountants/auditors	8,225	2.1
	Painters	8,215	2.1
	Construction foremen/women	8,160	2.1
	General managers	8,000	2.1
	Other	246,640	64.1
	Total	384,950	100.0
Women	Child care	21,745	11.0
	Sales clerks and sales	19,435	9.8
	Barbers/hairdressers	17,440	8.8
	Bookkeepers/accounting clerks	10,615	5.4
	Fine arts teachers	6,460	3.3
	Sales/advertising managers	4,665	2.4
	Writers and editors	4,490	2.3
	Secretaries/stenographers	4,405	2.2
	Painters/sculptors	3,805	1.9
	Product/interior designers	3,805	1.9
	Other	101,000	51.0
	Total	197,865	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

comparison, this was the case for only 15% of other workers. A large proportion of self-employed people are in professional occupations that require a university degree (such as doctors, dentists, lawyers or engineers). The proportion of self-employed people who had not graduated from high school (25%) was slightly lower than that for other workers (27%).

Immigrants more likely to be self-employed Overall, 11% of immigrant workers were self-employed in 1991, compared with 8% of those who were Canadian born. Only among immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1991 was self-employment less common (7%) than among the Canadian-born population. Recent immigrants may not yet have had the time to acquire the capital and business contacts necessary to establish a business.

Both immigrant men and women are more likely to be self-employed than are those born in Canada. In 1991, 15% of immigrant men and 7% of immigrant women were self-employed, compared with 10% and 5% of Canadian-born men and women. In addition, at all ages and across all industries, immigrants were consistently more likely than Canadian-born people to be self-employed.

Dentists most likely to be self-employed Some occupations, particularly certain professional occupations, tend to have high concentrations of self-employment. For example, 83% of dentists and 76% of osteopaths and chiropractors were self-employed in 1991. Denturists (68%), optometrists (65%), and physicians and surgeons (60%) also had high rates of self-employment. Other occupations with large proportions of self-employed workers included painters and sculptors (71%), and fishing captains (60%).

Occupational patterns differ for men and women For the self-employed with others working for them, two trade occupations (construction foremen, 5% and carpenters, 2%) were among the top 10 occupations for male employers, while no trade occupations were common among female employers. The most common occupations among women employers were sales supervisors (13%), followed by bookkeepers and accounting clerks (8%).

These occupations, however, are common among women workers in general.

Among the independently self-employed, sales representatives, tradespeople and child-care givers are the most common occupations. In 1991, independently self-employed men were concentrated in sales (8%), carpentry (6%) and truck driving (6%). Independently self-employed women, on the other hand, were most often in child care (11%), sales (10%) and barber or hairdressing occupations (9%). In addition, four occupations of an artistic nature were among the 10 highest ranked occupations for independently self-employed women: fine arts teachers; writers and editors; painters, sculptors and related artists; and product and interior designers.

Higher employment incomes among self-employed employers As a group, the self-employed earn more on average than do other workers. This is not true, however, for independently self-employed workers, who earn less on average than do workers who are not self-employed. Employers, those self-employed people who have others working for them, have the highest employment incomes among the three categories of worker. Across all of these worker categories, men had higher employment incomes than did women.

Among those who worked full-time for at least 40 weeks during 1990, self-employed men who had people working for them had an average employment income of \$51,300, compared with \$38,300 for men who were not self-employed. Independently self-employed men earned less on average (\$32,000) than either of these groups.

This pattern is the same for women. Among those working full-time for at least 40 weeks of the year, self-employed women who employed other workers earned \$29,100 on average. Women who were not self-employed had an average annual employment income of \$25,300.

As was the case with men, independently self-employed women had the lowest employment incomes (\$19,300) among the three categories of women workers. Female independent workers were most likely to work as child-care givers, in sales positions or as barbers/hairdressers – jobs which are not the highest-paying among the self-employed.

Self-employed professionals had highest employment income On average, self-employed professionals who employ other workers have higher incomes than self-employed employers in all other types of occupations. Among those who worked full-time for at least 40 weeks of the year, physicians and

surgeons had the highest average employment income (\$121,600), followed by dentists (\$100,100) and lawyers (\$96,900). In contrast, common employer occupations with relatively low average annual incomes included supervisors of food and beverage preparation services (\$25,400) and services management occupations (\$29,100).

Among occupations most common to independently self-employed people, child-care givers had the lowest incomes. Independently self-employed child-care givers who worked full-time for at least 40 weeks in 1990 earned an average of \$10,400. Other common self-employment occupations with relatively low incomes included independent barbers and hairdressers (\$17,700), sales people (\$23,100), motor vehicle repairers (\$23,400), and bookkeepers and accounting clerks (\$23,500).

Self-employed are a diverse and growing group The self-employed are not a homogenous group, but rather include people with diverse backgrounds who work in a range of occupations. At one extreme, self-employed professionals are well educated with high average annual incomes. These self-employed people often have others working for them. At the other extreme are those who work on their own, in relatively low income occupations.

Self-employment in non-agricultural industries has increased steadily since 1971. With high unemployment rates, and with businesses, governments and other public sector organizations increasingly seeking to streamline operations, it is unclear to what extent people who become self-employed today do so by choice or by necessity.

Arthur Gardner is an analyst with Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada. For more information, see **The Self-Employed** from the *Focus on Canada* series, Statistics Canada Catalogue 96-316.

Self-employed people with others working for them had the highest average employment income in 1990

CST



Note: Based on people in the labour force who worked full-time for 40 weeks or more.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

CST

*adapted from
The Importance of
Wildlife to Canadians:
Highlights of the 1991
Survey, Environment
Canada, 1993.*

The Importance of Wildlife to CANADIANS

CANADA IS RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONALLY for its diverse landscapes and variety of wildlife. Most of Canada's land area (about two-thirds) is still wild with no roads or settlements and, excluding Antarctica, 20% of the world's remaining wilderness is in this country.¹ Despite the abundance of biological resources that our wilderness provides, the protection and conservation of wildlife and its habitat is necessary to ensure that these resources are maintained for future generations.

One of the fundamental causes of the loss of biological resources throughout the world has been that societies have failed to value the environment and its resources. In response to this problem, the United Nations introduced the Convention on Biological Diversity. This convention encourages the sustainable use of diverse biological resources and ecosystems, and advocates the equitable sharing of benefits that result from these resources. Canada was the first developed country to sign the convention and to ratify it in 1992.

That year, on behalf of the Canadian Wildlife Service and provincial wildlife agencies, Statistics Canada conducted the Survey on the Importance of Wildlife to Canadians. This survey, first introduced in 1981, continues to increase public awareness of some of the social and economic benefits of biological resources, including their use as a source of tourism and recreation activities.



Most Canadians support wildlife conservation According to the Survey on the Importance of Wildlife to Canadians, most adults aged 15 and over felt it was very (63%) or fairly (23%) important to maintain abundant wildlife. Many (60%) also reported that they would be willing to pay from 1% to 5% more in either taxes or prices to ensure that abundant wildlife is maintained through the conservation of wetlands, forests and other habitats.² Most adults also believed that the preservation of declining or endangered species was very (54%) or fairly (29%) important. About one-half of Canadians (52%) reported that they were willing to support price increases in order to protect declining or endangered wildlife from air pollution, acid rain, oil spills and pesticides.³

Support for the conservation of wildlife habitat and for the protection of declining or endangered species was strong across Canada, with more than three-quarters of the residents of each province reporting that these were very or fairly important goals. The proportion of adults in each province willing to help pay for these efforts, however, varied greatly. About 70% of British Columbia and Alberta residents reported that they were willing to help pay to protect wildlife habitat. In the other provinces, proportions ranged from 49% in Newfoundland to 64% in Ontario. Similarly, about 60% of adults living in British Columbia and Alberta reported that they were willing to help pay to protect declining or endangered species. In the other provinces, the proportion of residents willing to help pay ranged from 39% in Newfoundland to 54% in Ontario.

People who participated in more than one activity related to wildlife were much more likely than others to report that they were willing to help pay for habitat conservation. In 1991, about 70% of adults who engaged in several wildlife-related activities were willing to help pay for conservation through tax or price increases, compared with 45% of those engaged in a single activity and 24% of those not engaged in any activities related to wildlife. Similarly, 60% of adults who participated in several wildlife-related activities were willing to help pay to protect declining or endangered species, compared with 38% of those who participated in only a single activity and 19% of those not engaged in any wildlife-related activity.

Many provide food and shelter to wildlife at their residence

In 1991, 70% of Canadians watched, photographed, studied or fed wildlife around their home or cottage, or maintained plants, shrubs or bird houses to provide food or shelter for wildlife. Watching wildlife was the most common activity (57% of adults), followed by maintaining plants, shrubs or bird houses for wildlife (34%). About one-third of Canadians fed scraps to wildlife or put out special feed and about 20% studied or photographed wildlife. Overall, the average expenditure on all of these activities in 1991 was \$30 per participant.

Residents of Nova Scotia (77%), Prince Edward Island (76%) and British Columbia

and Alberta (73% each) were the most likely to have participated in activities at their home or cottage that involved enjoying or caring for wildlife. Adults living in Quebec (64%) and Newfoundland (65%) were the least likely to have participated in these activities.

Some take trips or outings to enjoy wildlife Many adult Canadians (19%) went on trips or outings to enjoy wildlife in 1991, that is they watched (16%), photographed (7%), studied (6%) or fed (5%) wildlife. Overall, these adults spent an average of 22 days on trips or outings. Almost all adults who reported taking a trip or outing had done so in Canada (96%). About 9%, however, had also travelled to the United States to participate in these activities.

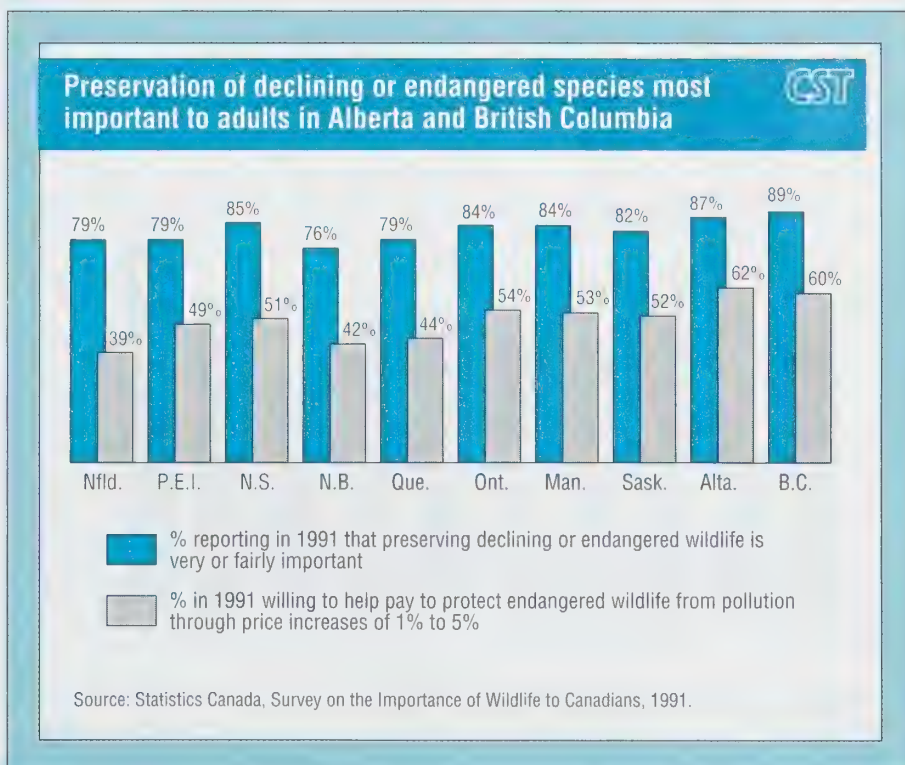
Residents of British Columbia, Nova Scotia and Alberta were the most likely to have taken a trip or outing to enjoy wildlife (20% or more of each province's population). Residents of Prince Edward Island, on the other hand, were the least likely to have participated in this type of activity (11%).

Adults who went on trips or outings spent an average of \$620 on these activities in 1991. Average expenditure differed greatly, however, among the provinces. Adults in Alberta (\$1,130) and British Columbia (\$970) who participated in these activities in 1991 spent more, on average, than participants in other provinces. Residents of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia who went on trips or outings to enjoy wildlife spent the least on these activities, an annual average of \$220 and \$270, respectively.

¹ *The State of Canada's Environment*, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1991.

² Included taxes on camping and outdoor recreation equipment, personal income taxes, wood and paper product prices, and food prices.

³ Included prices for wood and paper products, new cars and trucks, gasoline and oil, electricity and food.



Some fish or hunt About one-quarter of adult Canadians fished for recreational purposes in 1991, while 7% reported that they had hunted. About 5% of adult Canadians hunted deer and other large mammals and 4% hunted birds other than waterfowl. Smaller proportions hunted waterfowl (2%) or small mammals (3%). Although fewer people hunted than fished in 1991, the

average amount of time spent hunting was slightly longer. On average, those who hunted spent 16 days on this activity in 1991, while those who fished spent 14 days. Virtually all who reported fishing or hunting in 1991 had done so in Canada (99% each). About 4% of anglers and 2% of hunters, however, had also travelled to the United States to fish or hunt.

Most of those who fished or hunted were young men. In 1991, about 70% of those who fished and 90% of those who hunted were men. Among both anglers and hunters, almost three-quarters were under the age of 45.

Fishing is common among adults living in all provinces, while hunting is prevalent in the Atlantic provinces. In 1991, the proportion of adults who fished for recreational purposes ranged from 38% in Newfoundland to 24% in New Brunswick. Residents of Newfoundland (20%), New Brunswick (16%) and Nova Scotia (13%) were more likely to hunt than other adults, while those in British Columbia and Ontario were the least likely (5% in each province).

Those who fished or hunted were more likely than other adults to live in rural areas. In 1991, 33% of those who fished and 52% of those who hunted lived in a rural area, compared with 26% of all adult Canadians.

On average, hunters spent more on their activity in 1991 (\$770) than did those who fished for recreational purposes (\$500). Residents of British Columbia and Alberta who hunted or fished spent the most per person. The average personal expenditure for hunting activities in 1991 ranged from \$1,320 in British Columbia and \$1,170 in Alberta to \$340 in Nova Scotia. Similarly, the average expenditure for fishing ranged from \$770 in British Columbia and \$680 in Alberta to less than the national average in Quebec and the three Maritime provinces.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Canada's national parks

National parks were originally designed to preserve outstanding scenic areas for outdoor recreation and tourism. They were also intended to protect wildlife and wildlife habitat and to sustain hunting. In recent years, the rationale for setting aside protected spaces has broadened beyond tourism and recreation to include the protection of species and ecosystems, and the provision of educational opportunities.

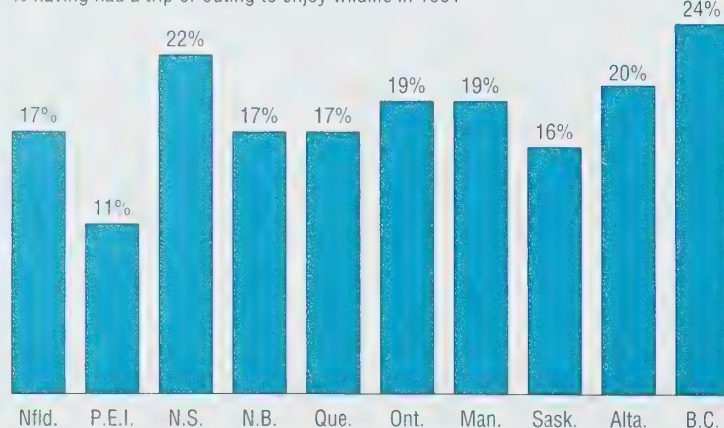
There are 39 national parks and park reserves in Canada that cover about 2% of the country. The first park of this type, Banff National Park, was established in 1885. This park, located in the Rocky Mountains of Alberta, is also the most popular, attracting more tourists each year than any other park in Canada. In the 1992-93 season, there were 4.2 million visitors to Banff National Park. Jasper National Park, also in the Rocky Mountains, was the second most visited park, with 1.4 million visitors in 1992-93. In total, Canada's national parks drew 13.7 million tourists in the 1992-93 season.¹

¹ Parks Canada, unpublished data.

Adults in British Columbia, Nova Scotia and Alberta most likely to have taken a trip or an outing to enjoy wildlife¹

CST

% having had a trip or outing to enjoy wildlife in 1991



¹ Includes watching, photographing, studying or feeding wildlife.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey on the Importance of Wildlife to Canadians, 1991.

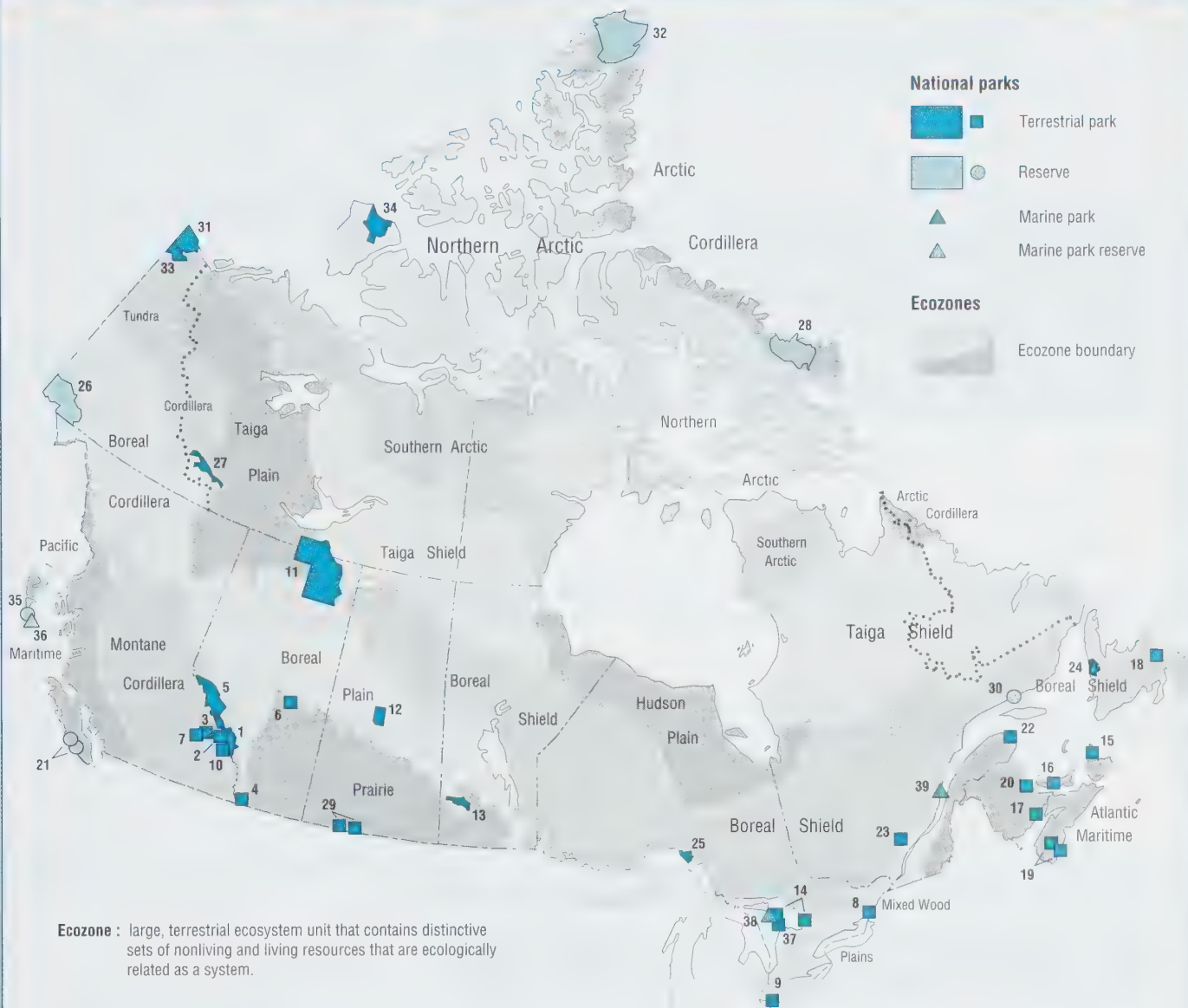
Many inform themselves about wildlife and contribute to wildlife organizations

In 1991, most adults watched a film or television program (78%) or read an article or book (54%) about wildlife. Many Canadians also visited a zoo, game farm, aquarium or natural history museum (40%), or purchased art, crafts or posters of wildlife (20%). Wildlife organizations attracted 9% of adults as members or contributors, while 6% of adults reported maintaining, improving or purchasing natural areas to provide food or shelter for wildlife.

Adults who belonged to wildlife organizations and those who maintained, improved or purchased natural areas for wildlife tended to be aged 35 to 54. Participants in these activities were also more likely to be residents of a rural area than adult Canadians in general. Of those

Canada's national parks and ecozones

CST



1. Banff National Park, Alta. (est. 1885, 6,640.8 km²)
2. Yoho National Park, B.C. (est. 1886, 1,313.1 km²)
3. Glacier National Park, B.C. (est. 1886, 1,349.4 km²)
4. Waterton Lakes National Park, Alta. (est. 1895, 525.8 km²)
5. Jasper National Park, Alta. (est. 1907, 19,878.0 km²)
6. Elk Island National Park, Alta. (est. 1913, 194.3 km²)
7. Mount Revelstoke National Park, B.C. (est. 1914, 262.6 km²)
8. St. Lawrence Islands National Park, Ont. (est. 1914, 4.1 km²)
9. Point Pelee National Park, Ont. (est. 1918, 15.5 km²)
10. Kootenay National Park, B.C. (est. 1920, 1,377.9 km²)
11. Wood Buffalo National Park, N.W.T. (est. 1922, 44,807.0 km²)
12. Prince Albert National Park, Sask. (est. 1927, 3,874.6 km²)
13. Riding Mountain National Park, Man. (est. 1929, 2,975.9 km²)
14. Georgian Bay Islands National Park, Ont. (est. 1929, 14.2 km²)
15. Cape Breton Highlands National Park, N.S. (est. 1936, 950.5 km²)
16. Prince Edward Island National Park, P.E.I. (est. 1937, 18.1 km²)
17. Fundy National Park, N.B. (est. 1948, 205.9 km²)
18. Terra Nova National Park, Nfld. (est. 1957, 396.5 km²)
19. Kejimikujik National Park, N.S. (est. 1968, 381.5 km²)
20. Kouchibouguac National Park, N.B. (est. 1969, 225.3 km²)

21. Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, B.C. (est. 1970, 388.5 km²)
22. Forillon National Park, Que. (est. 1970, 240.4 km²)
23. La Mauricie National Park, Que. (est. 1970, 543.9 km²)
24. Gros Morne National Park, Nfld. (est. 1970, 1,942.5 km²)
25. Pukaskwa National Park, Ont. (est. 1971, 1,877.8 km²)
26. Kluane National Park Reserve, Y.T. (est. 1972, 22,015.0 km²)
27. Nahanni National Park Reserve, N.W.T. (est. 1972, 4,765.6 km²)
28. Auyuittuq National Park Reserve, N.W.T. (est. 1972, 21,471.1 km²)
29. Grasslands National Park, Sask. (est. 1981, 906.5 km²)
30. Mingan Archipelago National Park Reserve, Que. (est. 1984, 93.5 km²)
31. Ivvavik (Northern Yukon) National Park, Y.T. (est. 1984, 10,000.0 km²)
32. Ellesmere Island National Park Reserve, N.W.T. (est. 1986, 39,500.0 km²)
33. Vuntut National Park, Y.T. (est. 1995, 4,345.0 km²)
34. Aulavik National Park, N.W.T. (est. 1995, 12,200.0 km²)
35. Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, B.C. (** , 1,495.0 km²)
36. Gwaii Haanas National Marine Park Reserve, B.C. (** , 3,050.0 km²)
37. Bruce Peninsula National Park, Ont. (** , 154.0 km²)
38. Fathom Five National Marine Park, Ont. (** , 113.0 km²)
39. Saguenay – St. Lawrence Marine Park, Que. (** , 1,138.0 km²)

* established

** Memorandum of Understanding only

Source: Environment Canada, 1991, *The State of Canada's Environment - 1991*, Ottawa.
Canadian Heritage, 1994, *National Parks and National Historic Sites*, unpublished.

Cartography by the National Atlas Information Service,
Geomatics Canada.



who contributed to wildlife organizations in 1991, the average contribution was \$80. Those who maintained, improved or purchased natural areas, on the other hand, each spent an average of \$1,080 in 1991.

Canadian wildlife attracts tourists from the United States According to a survey by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, 1.8 million Americans travelled to

Canada to participate in fish- or wildlife-related activities in 1991, more than triple the number of Canadians who visited the United States for the same purpose (528,000). Of these American tourists, 54% reported that they visited Canada for the primary purpose of observing, photographing or feeding wildlife, and 47% visited Canada for recreational fishing. Very few (2%) came to Canada to hunt.

American visitors who came to Canada incurred expenses for food, lodging, transportation and other items, such as guide fees, licence fees and equipment rental. Those who came to hunt in 1991 spent the most on their trip, \$1,020 per person. This was almost double the amount spent by those who came to fish (\$520). Americans who travelled to Canada to photograph, observe or feed wildlife spent \$350 per person.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

About the Survey on the Importance of Wildlife to Canadians

The survey was conducted between January and May 1992 by Statistics Canada under the sponsorship of the Canadian Wildlife Service and provincial wildlife agencies. A major objective of the survey was to collect basic, accurate and reliable socio-economic information on the importance of biological resources to Canadians, specifically wildlife (wild birds and other wild animals) and fish. The survey was designed to update and enhance information collected by Statistics Canada for the years 1981 and 1987 under similar sponsorship arrangements.

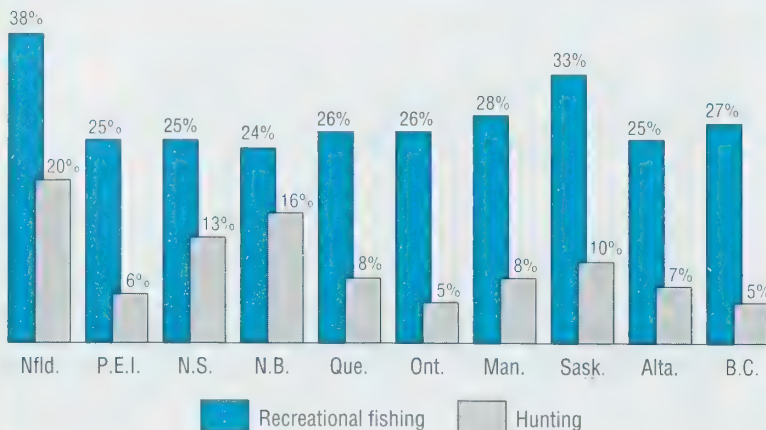
Survey publications are jointly written by members of a Federal-Provincial Task Force representing survey sponsors. Members of this task force are: **Fern Fillion, Alistair Bath, Pierre Bouchard, Peter Boxall, Elaine DuWors, Paul Gray, André Jacquemot, Douglass Legg and Roger Reid.**

For more information about survey publications, contact Publications, Canadian Wildlife Service, Environment Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0H3 or provincial government wildlife agencies.

Adults in Newfoundland most likely to be anglers and hunters

CST

% participating in recreational fishing or hunting in 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey on the Importance of Wildlife to Canadians, 1991.

Continued recognition of the importance of wildlife is needed Sustaining wildlife contributes to people's well-being as well as to a country's economy. While most Canadians recognize the importance of maintaining abundant wildlife and are willing to financially support its maintenance, wildlife in Canada remains under stress from human activities. Agriculture, forestry and urban, industrial and resource development often cause the destruction of wildlife habitat or the alteration of habitat by toxic contaminants, acid rain and other environmental changes. As a result, these activities often create conditions under which many species can no longer live or reproduce.¹ In 1994, 117 species or populations of birds, mammals, reptiles, fish, amphibians and plants were listed as endangered or threatened in Canada.⁴

Many countries, however, including Canada, have acknowledged the need to protect wildlife habitat and have set aside areas such as national parks, wildlife sanctuaries and ecological reserves to address this need. These areas alone, however, cannot maintain biological diversity. To protect wildlife and wildlife habitat from human activities, governments, landowners, industries and non-government organizations will need to work together to ensure that decisions made today do not endanger the environment in the future.

⁴ Annual Report to the Canadian Wildlife Directors Meeting by the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada, June 15-16, 1994.

CST



SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,549.7	26,894.8	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1 ^{PD}	28,542.2 ^{PD}	28,940.6 ^{PR}	29,248.1 ^{PP}
Annual growth (%)	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.2 ^{PD}	1.5 ^{PD}	1.4 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PP}
Immigration ¹	130,813	152,413	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810 ^F	264,967 ^R	227,226 ^P
Emigration ¹	47,707	40,978	40,395	39,760	43,692 ^{IR}	45,633 ^{PD}	43,992 ^{PR}	44,807 ^{PP}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	13.4 ^P	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.0	7.0	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5 ^P	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.6	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144	1,077
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383	12,644
– goods sector (000s)	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302	3,393
– service sector (000s)	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082	9,252
Total unemployment (000s)	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562	1,458
Unemployment rate (%)	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2	10.3
Part-time employment (%)	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3	17.1
Women's participation rate (%)	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5	57.2
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	34.9	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	47,069	*
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	12.8	12.0	10.9	12.0	12.9	13.3	14.5	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	72.0	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4	5,294.0	5,367.3	*
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4	930.5	949.3	*
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,237	*
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.8	6.3	6.4	6.2	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1	*	*
– women	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7	*	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.7	*	*
– women	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.7	*	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.2	6.7	6.8	6.7	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	856	898	948	1,013	1,056	1,081	1,079	*
– property	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841	6,141	5,890	5,562	*
– homicide	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.2	*
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1993 \$000,000)	175,423.6	179,817.8	187,892.3	196,762.4	205,481.1	211,778.7	211,432.6	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.1	56.1	56.0	56.8	58.5	59.6	59.6	*
– as a % of GDP	25.5	24.7	25.2	26.9	29.5	30.2	29.7	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5	3,086.2
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1	3,340.8
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0	3,100.2
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	-0.2	-1.8	+0.6	+2.2	+4.5
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8	0.2
Urban housing starts	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988	127,346
– Not available * Not yet available ^P Preliminary data ^E Estimate ^m Figures as of March ^{PD} Final postcensal estimates ^{PP} Preliminary postcensal estimates ^{PR} Updated postcensal estimates ^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates ^R Revised data ^F Final data								
¹ For year ending June 30 ² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

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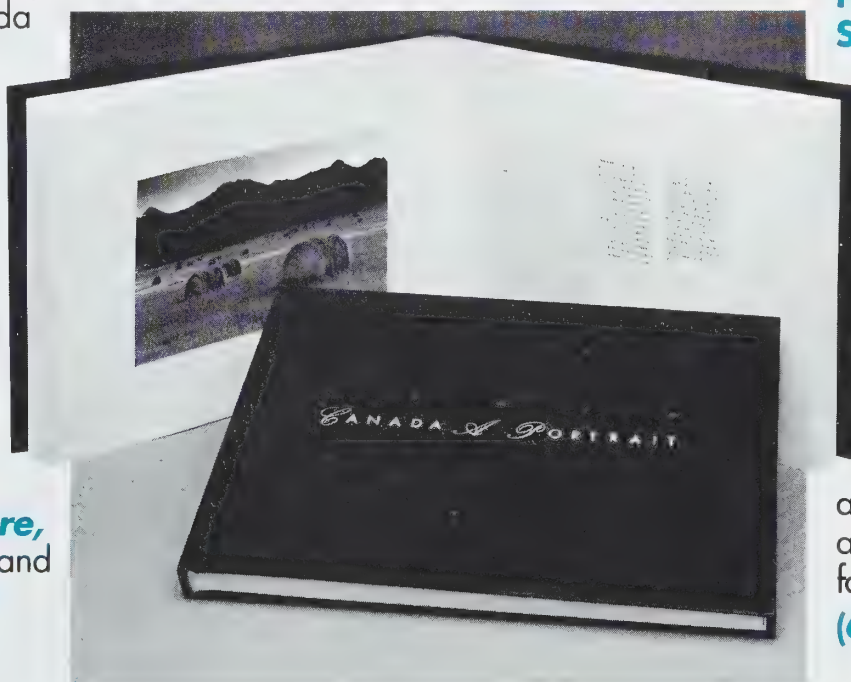
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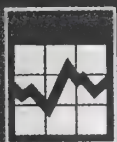
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contents

AUTUMN 1995

No.38

PREPARING FOR THE INFORMATION HIGHWAY: INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY IN CANADIAN HOUSEHOLDS <i>by Jeffrey Frank</i>	2
EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES <i>by Alan Shain</i>	8
LEAVING THE NEST? THE IMPACT OF FAMILY STRUCTURE <i>by Monica Boyd and Doug Norris</i>	14
ALCOHOL USE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES	18
VANCOUVER'S DIVERSE AND GROWING POPULATION <i>by Jennifer Chard</i>	24
TRACKING CHANGE: LONGITUDINAL INFORMATION AT STATISTICS CANADA	30
EDUCATOR'S NOTEBOOK	32
KEEPING TRACK	33
SOCIAL INDICATORS	35

Cumulative Index of Articles – See Winter 1994 Issue



ON OUR COVER:

A View of the Bridge on the River La Puce near Quebec in Canada (1788) watercolour over graphite on laid paper, 34.1 x 51.5 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada.

About the artist:

Thomas Davies (c1737-1812)

was born near Woolwich, England. In the military, he was posted in Canada intermittently during the years 1757-1790. Throughout his life, he worked as a topographer, draughtsman and watercolourist. Mr. Davies returned to England where he died in 1812.

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Editors
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JILLIAN ODERKIRK
JEFFREY FRANK

Production Co-ordinator
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Art Direction
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Preparing for the **INFORMATION HIGHWAY**

Information Technology in
Canadian Households

by Jeffrey Frank

Advances in telecommunications and in computer technology have brought about an information revolution, the impact of which may be as profound as that of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. The rapid evolution of telephone, cable, satellite and computer networks, combined with technological breakthroughs in computer processing speeds and information storage capacity, have made this latest revolution possible.

For decades, telephones and televisions have been standard equipment in virtually every Canadian household. More recently, technological developments and declining prices have given consumers access to an expanding range of high-tech products and services. As a result, video cassette recorders (VCRs), compact disc (CD) players, cable television, satellite dishes, facsimile (fax) machines, computers, CD-ROMs and modems have been making their way into the homes of more and more Canadians. The increased presence of such innovations in the home is gradually changing the way many people spend their working, learning and leisure time.

Canadians appear to be keeping pace with the evolution of an increasingly technological environment and their degree of computer literacy is higher than ever. As the information highway grows more elaborate, the number of opportunities for taking advantage of information technology in the home are increasing. Thus far, however, these innovations are most accessible to people in higher income households who can afford them.

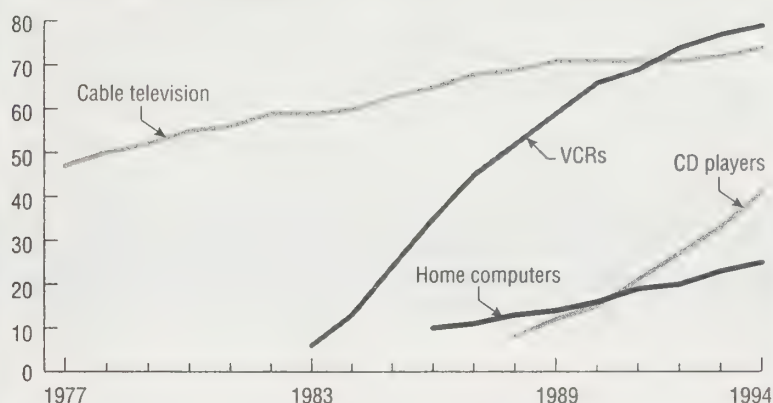
Information technology infrastructure has evolved The information highway can be described as a "network of networks" that allows for the sharing of information. In addition to information in the form of text, the information highway facilitates the interactive use of sophisticated graphic, video and audio information. Although telephone and cable systems are competing to be the main carrier of information services in the future, other media, including direct-to-home satellite services, may become equally important lanes on the information highway.

Some information equipment that can be found in the home, including fax machines and modems, make use of

Canadian households have adapted quickly to new home technologies

CST

% of households with equipment



Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, 1994 Household Facilities and Equipment Survey.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

The Internet, on-line services and bulletin boards

The Internet: Started in the 1960s as a communications network for the United States military, the Internet spread first to universities and information technology corporations, and eventually to businesses, schools and millions of individuals around the globe. The Internet comprises a free and virtually unlimited worldwide electronic mail system, as well as thousands of news groups and mailing lists. In addition, the Internet provides access to the World Wide Web which contains hundreds of thousands of interlinked home pages. Home pages are sites where companies, organizations and individuals offer information in the form of multi-media documents.

Commercial services: On-line information services and databases have proliferated in recent years. Today, many companies offer value-added information services in exchange for a user or subscription fee. Examples include airline reservation systems, stock market quote services, full-text databases from newswires, and searchable encyclopedias. Commercial on-line services are available in areas as diverse as financial services, science and engineering, medicine and health care, education, libraries and specialized business information.

Bulletin board systems: These are small, localized computer networks that are often oriented toward single-interest groups and hobbyists. Organizations, such as businesses and associations, also use bulletin board systems (BBSs) to communicate with specific audiences. Users connect by modem and can share information and software. BBSs are slowly becoming redundant because the Internet and commercial services can serve the same functions. BBSs, however, have the advantage of being low-cost, and some act as local interfaces to the Internet.

standard telephone lines. Sophisticated switching and communications capabilities make telephone systems highly interactive, but the wires these phone systems currently use are limited to transmitting text and low- to medium-quality graphics. Canada's major phone companies, however, are moving quickly to increase the capacity and speed of their networks.

In contrast, cable systems use lines capable of handling high-quality graphics,

animation, video and interactive computer applications. Cable services to date, however, have been a one-way medium, from distributors to consumers. Currently, there are about 1,800 cable systems in Canada serving nearly 8 million households. About 97% of Canadian households are located in areas that are wired for cable service. Like the telephone companies, the cable industry is in the process of upgrading its systems to incorporate the most recent technological developments.

More Canadian households with high-tech products and services

Canadians have demonstrated themselves to be quick to adopt many new home-based information technology products. In 1994, for example, 79% of households had at least one VCR, up from just 6% in 1983. Similarly, the proportion of Canadian households with a CD player increased to 41% in 1994 from 8% in 1988 (the first year such information was collected). Also in 1994, more than

Percentage of urban households¹ with selected equipment in 1994

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Census metropolitan area (number of households)	Cable television	VCRs	Camcorders	Cassette or tape recorders	CD players	Home computers	Modems
				%			
Calgary (270,000)	86	82	15	81	45	31	7
Chicoutimi-Jonquière (52,000)	77	80	12	56	32	15	--
Edmonton (290,000)	79	83	17	84	47	30	12
Halifax (124,000)	87	85	11	85	46	27	12
Hamilton (244,000)	87	82	14	78	48	28	4
Kitchener (133,000)	87	85	19	82	55	36	22
London (137,000)	86	83	16	85	44	29	6
Montréal (1,246,000)	69	71	11	66	38	22	7
Oshawa (86,000)	89	88	20	81	49	29	--
Ottawa-Hull (352,000)	84	81	12	81	44	34	11
Québec (266,000)	68	75	10	72	44	18	3
Regina (67,000)	82	83	12	87	45	26	--
St. Catharines-Niagara (131,000)	72	82	14	78	35	22	13
St. John's (54,000)	88	79	12	80	40	22	--
Saint John (44,000)	88	81	19	84	39	17	--
Saskatoon (72,000)	72	78	16	87	43	27	--
Sherbrooke (52,000)	89	78	12	71	42	25	--
Sudbury (60,000)	83	83	18	82	47	29	--
Thunder Bay (49,000)	79	83	16	78	43	27	--
Toronto (1,365,000)	90	82	19	76	46	31	12
Trois-Rivières (49,000)	86	76	13	70	37	24	--
Vancouver (660,000)	93	81	17	83	54	36	16
Victoria (129,000)	94	79	14	87	52	36	15
Windsor (99,000)	49	80	16	77	40	25	19
Winnipeg (250,000)	85	77	12	79	40	21	14

¹ Households in census metropolitan areas.

-- Estimate not reliable enough to publish.

Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, 1994 Household Facilities and Equipment Survey.

400,000 households (4%) had a fax machine.

Consumers will not necessarily embrace any new technology that comes along. Indeed, many media and formats of information-based products and services have been introduced in the past only to quickly become obsolete. Consumer preference plays an important role in determining which home-based information technologies become established.

To receive expanded television programming and viewing choices, nearly three-quarters (74%) of households subscribed to a cable service in 1994, up from 47% in 1977. Of course, some households, especially in rural areas, do not have access to cable service. These households require a satellite dish to receive a wider range of television programming. In 1993, 3% of Canadian households were equipped with a satellite dish. This proportion will likely increase, however, as new direct-to-home satellite television services are poised to compete with established cable services.

Ownership of home computers has also been growing. New hardware and software products, falling prices and the opportunity to link up with larger computer networks and services have made owning a personal computer (PC) more attractive than ever before. In 1994, 25% of Canadian households had a home computer, up from 10% in 1986. Thus, 2.6 million households owned a PC in 1994 (excluding computers that were strictly for business purposes and those that could only be used to play games). One in three of these home computers (34%) was equipped with a modem. This device sends and receives information over telephone lines, and allows households to access on-line services, bulletin board systems and the Internet.

Higher income households and those with children most likely to have home computers Although the vast majority of households, regardless of income, can access many electronic services by telephone, links to the information highway are not as universally available. For example, a computer (along with a modem and appropriate software) is required to access the Internet. As might be expected, income is an important determinant of whether or not a household has

a PC. In 1994, households in the highest income group were five times more likely to have a home computer (46%) than were those in the lowest income group (9%).¹

Computer ownership also varies by household type (which in turn is related to other factors such as income and age). Families with children under age 18 were more likely to have a computer (35%) than were those without children (24%). Furthermore, families with children were

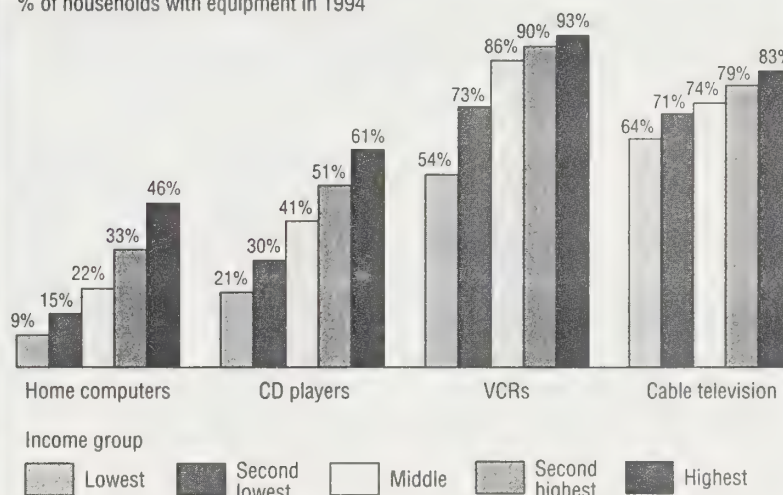
three times as likely as one-person households (12%) to own a computer. PCs were even less common in the homes of seniors. Less than 7% of households headed by people aged 65 and over had a computer in 1994. In fact, household type is related to ownership of

¹ Households were ranked from those with the highest incomes to those with the lowest. Households were then divided into five equally sized groups (quintiles).

Higher income households most likely to own home computers...

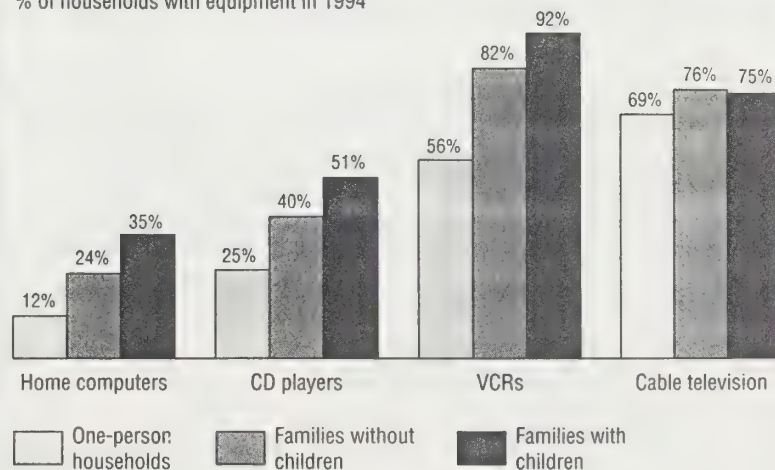
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% of households with equipment in 1994



...as are families with children¹

% of households with equipment in 1994

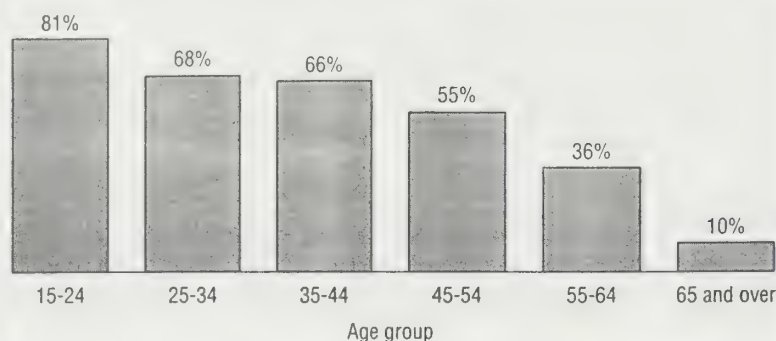


¹ Children under age 18 living at home.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-218.

Computer literacy most prevalent among younger Canadians...

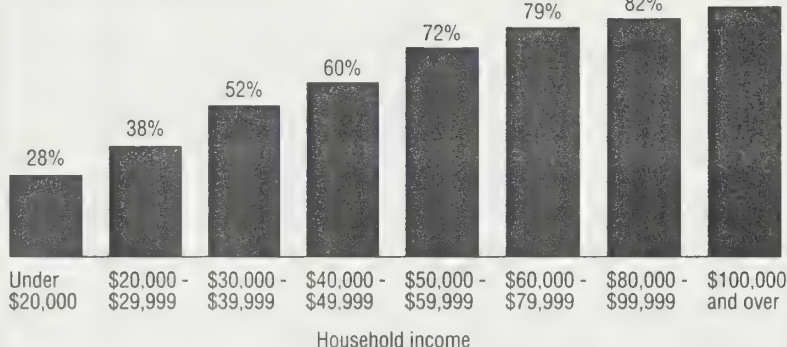
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% able to use computers in 1994



...and among people in high income households

% able to use computers in 1994

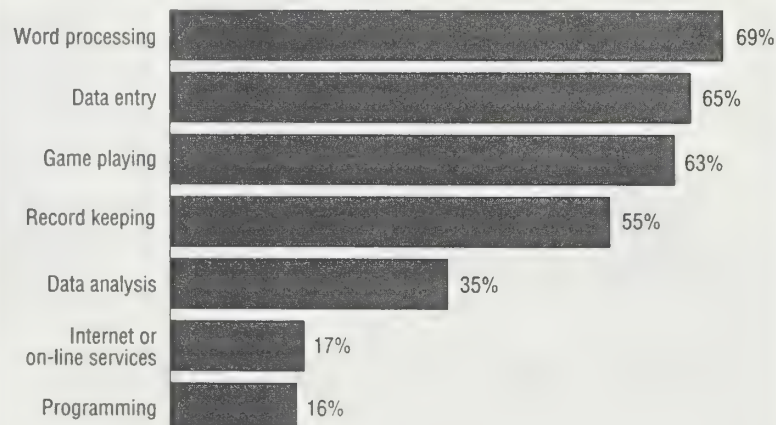


Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

Word processing the most common activity among computer users

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% using computers for...



Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

many electronic leisure items, including VCRs and CD players. Families with children are most likely to have all of these devices.

An increasingly computer literate population According to the 1994 General Social Survey (GSS), 56% of adult Canadians (12.3 million) were able to use a computer, up substantially from 47% in 1989. In addition, 41% of Canadians aged 15 and over in 1994 had taken at least one computer course.

Computer literacy is most prevalent among youth, in part because most young people today are exposed to computers in school. In 1994, 81% of people aged 15 to 24 were able to use a computer. Computer literacy declined with each subsequent age group. Among seniors, only 10% were able to use a computer.

As is the case with ownership of home computers, ability to use a computer is related to household income. In 1994, 86% of people living in households with incomes of \$100,000 and over knew how to use a computer. Only 28% of people in households with incomes under \$20,000 were computer literate.

Among computer users, word processing is the most common activity. In 1994, 69% reported having used a computer for word processing. The next most common uses included data entry (65%), game playing (63%) and record keeping (55%). The 1994 GSS asked, for the first time, whether people had used any on-line services or had logged onto the Internet. That year, 17% of computer users (2.2 million) reported having used an on-line service or the Internet in the 12 months before the survey.

It appears that Canadians are well prepared to enter the information age. More Canadians are computer literate than ever before, more people now have a computer in the home and many are making use of on-line services. Using and benefiting from information technology, however, is still most common among Canadians with high incomes and among the young.

Telework is becoming a feasible option Technological advances have made telework a realistic option for many employees and employers. Telework

involves working at home while being electronically connected to the workplace. In 1991, over 500,000 Canadians were employees who worked at home. It is not known how many of these home-based workers were actually teleworking, but the phenomenon is thought to be growing. So far, most organizations using telework are in government, and in the banking, computer and telecommunications industries.

Most teleworkers currently work over ordinary phone lines, but a pilot project using a more sophisticated network is in place. CableLink Work is a cable network developed by Rogers Cablesystems Ltd. A six-month field trial in 1995 in Newmarket, Ontario involved 20 IBM employees who were connected by cable modem to an interactive, multi-media system, enabling them to work on complex tasks. These new cable modems are not yet commercially available, but can transmit and receive information at a speed of 10 million bits per second. This is a dramatic improvement over conventional modems that operate at speeds between 9,600 and 28,800 bits per second. As a result of such technological developments, telework may become even more common in the future.

Implications for education In addition to the use of computers and other products (like CD-ROM) with regular education programs, new approaches to education are now possible as a result of advances in information technology. Distance education, traditionally done through correspondence and more recently over radio or television broadcasts, is now possible through computer networks. This type of education has the potential to make interactive instruction accessible to people in remote areas, to people with disabilities, and to people with tight schedules. Also, highly specialized programs of study could become available to more students.

Statistics Canada's 1994 Adult Education and Training Survey estimated that over 400,000 Canadian students were enrolled in some type of distance education course or program that year. Of these students, 19% made use of an information



technology-based medium such as multi-media, the Internet or teleconferencing. An additional 4% received at least part of their instruction over radio or television. As educational institutions make further use of information technology, and as technology continues to proliferate in the home, distance education may become even more commonplace.

Implications for culture In the cultural field, the implications of information technology in the home are also evident. Consumers will be faced with many new choices in terms of content, products and services, and prices. CDs and VCRs, for example, have already changed the way Canadians listen to music and see films. The delivery of cultural and entertainment services may change even more profoundly as cable systems and satellites allow for direct, customized distribution to the home. Everything from pay-per-view movies, to electronically distributed sound recordings, to interactive audio-visual presentations of gallery and museum exhibits will be possible. New products, such as interactive games and virtual reality applications, could lead to unprecedented levels of consumer participation and creativity.

As with all innovations that have been introduced in the past, new information technologies pose challenges to the

protection of intellectual property. Copyright considerations will likely be a major part of public policy discussions as the information highway evolves. Another important consideration is the extent to which new technologies will affect Canadian content. The information highway knows no borders, and although Canadians will be inundated with cultural products from all over the world, so too will the world have access to Canadian culture.

The future of information technology in the home

The manner in which Canadian households will access the information highway in the future is uncertain. Much will depend on how telephone, cable, satellite and computer networks evolve over the next few years. In addition, consumer acceptance of these various, often competing technologies will play an important part in determining how the information highway is built. No matter how the information highway evolves, however, consumer acceptance will ultimately depend upon the quality of the content offered.

Intercom Ontario is a pilot project looking into the way people interact with technology. The four-year trial currently involves 250 York University students who are connected to a network with access to various services via either a television or a computer terminal, or both. The project is being extended to include a community of 300 new homes in Newmarket, Ontario that have been specially equipped with user-friendly electronic interfaces. Participants can do their banking, access government information, engage in personal teleconferencing, access audio and video information (including music and movies), and play interactive games. The results of the Intercom Ontario trial will provide important insights into the types of services consumers may want to access electronically and the manner in which they prefer to do so.

Jeffrey Frank is an Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.

CST

Employment of

by Alan Shain

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

During the past thirty years, attitudes toward people with disabilities have changed significantly. This progress, combined with advances in technology and medicine, has made it possible for people with disabilities to take a more active role in Canadian society. Nonetheless, people with disabilities are still much less likely than other Canadians to be in the labour force. Furthermore, people with disabilities who are in the labour force are concentrated in lower-paying jobs and are more likely than others to experience unemployment.



Although employment patterns may vary according to the nature and severity of people's disabilities, physical and attitudinal barriers that are independent of the disabilities themselves also exist. These barriers restrict, and often prevent, access to employment and higher paying jobs.

In an effort to eliminate these barriers, the 1986 *Employment Equity Act* designated people with disabilities as one of four groups in Canada that has been disadvantaged in the labour market. Since then, efforts have been made to create equal access to employment opportunities for people with disabilities along with the other designated groups (women, visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples). These efforts address not only all aspects of employment, such as recruiting and hiring practices, but also areas related to employment, such as education and training.

Disability rates increase with age

According to the 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey (HALS), 16% of Canada's population (4.2 million people) had a disability that, for six months or more, restricted or limited their ability to perform an activity in a manner or within a range considered normal.¹ Children under age 15 (7%) and people aged 15 to 34 (8%) had the lowest disability rates. The likelihood of having a disability increased substantially among people aged 35 to 54 (14%), and again among those aged 55 to 64 (27%). Seniors, however, were the most likely to have had a disability (46%). Within the working age population, defined as those aged 15 to 64, the disability rate was 13% in 1991. That year, more than one-half of Canadians with disabilities (2.3 million people) were that age.

Even within the working age population, people with disabilities tended to be older. Within this group, 29% were aged 15 to 34, 43% were aged 35 to 54 and 27% were aged 55 to 64. In contrast, among working age people without disabilities, 50% were aged 15 to 34, 39% were aged 35 to 54 and 11% were aged 55 to 64.

The proportion of people with severe disabilities also increased with age. Severity was determined according to the extent of one's limitations. In 1991, few children with disabilities were severely disabled (3%). Nine percent of disabled adults aged 15 to 34 had severe disabilities, compared with 32% of disabled seniors.

Among the working age population with disabilities, 15% had a severe disability, while 31% were moderately disabled. Just over one-half (54%) had a mild disability.

Similar proportions of working age men and women had a disability in 1991. As well, few differences existed between men and women in the nature and severity of their disabilities.

Mobility and agility disabilities most common

In 1991, about one-half of adults aged 15 to 64² with disabilities had a mobility or agility disability. This included limitations in the ability to walk, move from room to room, carry an object a short distance, or stand for long periods of time. As well, 25% of people with disabilities reported a hearing disability, and 9% reported a sight disability. Many disabled people had more than one disability (53%).

Lower education levels among adults with disabilities

In 1991, adults aged 15 to 64 with disabilities (18%) were more than twice as likely as those without disabilities (8%) to have less than a Grade 9 education. In addition, 2% of adults with disabilities had no formal education, while virtually no adults without disabilities were in that situation. Similarly, only 6% of adults with disabilities had completed university, compared with 14% of other adults. These proportions were similar for both men and women with disabilities in 1991.

Disparities in educational attainment existed between the populations with and

without disabilities, regardless of age. Among those aged 15 to 34, people with disabilities (6%) were twice as likely as other Canadians (3%) to have less than a Grade 9 education. Similarly, people that age with disabilities (5%) were only half as likely as others (12%) to have a university degree. Those aged 35 to 54 with disabilities were also about twice as likely as others that age to have less than a Grade 9 education (16% compared with 9%), and half as likely to have a university degree (8% compared with 17%). Among those aged 55 to 64 with disabilities, 35% had less than a Grade 9 education and 4% had a university degree. Among other people that age, 25% had less than a Grade 9 education and 10% had a university degree.

Adults with severe (32%) or moderate disabilities (25%) were considerably more likely than those with mild disabilities (13%) to have less than a Grade 9 education. At the same time, 4% of people with severe disabilities had a university degree, compared with 5% of those with moderate and 7% of those with mild disabilities. Part of the reason for these differences is that people with mild disabilities tend to be younger than those with moderate or severe disabilities. Older adults, both with and without

¹ A person is not considered to have a disability if the use of a technical aid, such as glasses or a hearing aid, completely eliminates the limitation.

² The remainder of this article discusses only the population aged 15 to 64 with disabilities who live in private households.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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Severity of disability

On the 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey, adults aged 15 and over were asked about limitations they experienced in their daily routines, including any difficulty they experienced when eating and dressing, using the telephone, reading the printed word, walking long distances or using stairs. The severity of their disabilities was determined by according one point for each partial loss of function and two points for each total loss of function. Those with less than five points were considered as having mild disabilities, while those with five to ten points were considered moderately disabled and those with eleven or more points were considered severely disabled.

disabilities, generally have a lower level of educational attainment than their younger counterparts.

Lower levels of educational attainment partly caused by barriers

Barriers to educational attainment can include inaccessible classrooms, a lack of required services and equipment, and educators' unfamiliarity with how to accommodate people with disabilities. A lack of financial resources can also be a limiting factor. According to a 1993 study by the National Education Association of Disabled Students, more than 40% of students with disabilities found their finances insufficient for their disability-related needs. All of these types of barriers would have been more prominent for older people who were pursuing an education twenty-five or thirty years ago.

In 1991, 20% of people aged 15 to 64 with disabilities had their disability before completing their schooling. Virtually all of these people stated that their education³ was affected by their disability in some way. The most frequent response was that their choice of courses or careers was affected (61%). The amount of funding available to students with disabilities is often tied to the type of program in which the student is enrolled, thus limiting career choices.

Almost 40% of those whose disability affected their education stated that their schooling was interrupted for long periods of time. This could have been due to operations or treatments needed as a result of their disability. About 30% changed schools because of their disability, attended special education classes or schools, or changed their course of study. In addition, some took courses by correspondence or arranged for home study because of their disability (18%), while others left their own community to attend school (17%).

Lower levels of employment experienced by people with disabilities

In 1991, 54% of people aged 15 to 34 with disabilities, 57% of those aged 35 to 54, and 28% of those aged 55 to 64 were employed. In contrast, among those without disabilities, 70% of those aged 15 to 34, 82% of those aged 35 to 54, and 55% of those aged 55 to 64 were employed.

As severity levels increase, the proportion of people with disabilities who are employed decreases substantially. Sixty-two percent of people aged 15 to 64 with mild disabilities were employed in 1991, compared with only 37% of those with moderate and 19% of those with severe disabilities.

Similar to the situation in the general population, women with disabilities are

less likely than men with disabilities to be employed. In 1991, 41% of women aged 15 to 64 with disabilities were employed, compared with 56% of men that age with disabilities.

Among people with disabilities who were employed, 76% worked 30 or more hours per week. Most were paid employees, while 12% were self-employed. These characteristics were similar to the population without disabilities.

Higher proportion of adults with disabilities not in the labour force

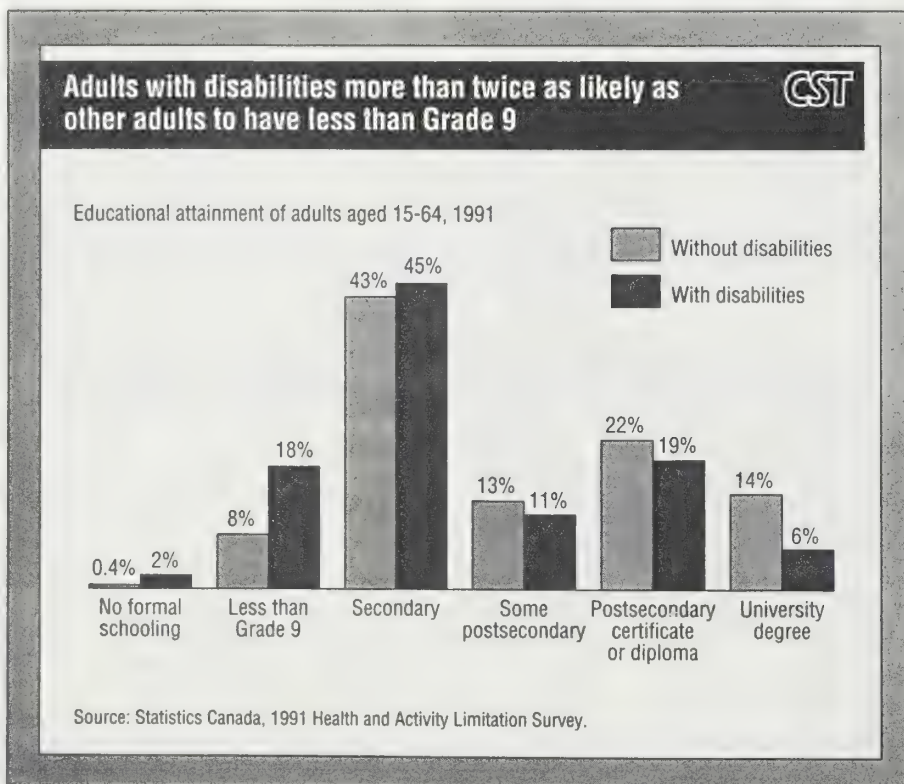
Over 30% of people aged 15 to 34 and aged 35 to 54 with disabilities were not in the labour force in 1991. In contrast, among people without disabilities, 20% of those aged 15 to 34 and 12% of those aged 35 to 54 were not in the labour force. Among people aged 55 to 64, 68% of those with disabilities were not in the labour force, compared with 39% of those without disabilities.

To be considered part of the labour force, a person had to be either employed or looking for work in the four weeks prior to the HALS. Some people may still have been looking for work, but not during that four-week period. Limited employment opportunities for people with disabilities may discourage many from actively searching for work.

Over 60% of people aged 15 to 34 and aged 35 to 54 with severe disabilities were not participating in the labour force. Those aged 55 to 64 with severe disabilities were the most likely to not be participating (88%). Among people with moderate disabilities, about 45% aged 15 to 34 and aged 35 to 54, and 76% aged 55 to 64 were not in the labour force. Among people with mild disabilities, 25% aged 15 to 34, 20% aged 35 to 54, and 52% aged 55 to 64 were not in the labour force.

The participation rates of men and women with disabilities differed considerably. In 1991, over one-half of women aged 15 to 64 with disabilities (52%) and 36% of men that age with disabilities were not in the labour force. In comparison, among people aged 15 to 64 without disabilities, 27% of women and 12% of men were not in the labour force.

Unemployment rate higher among people with disabilities Of adults with disabilities who were in the labour force



in 1991, 19% of those aged 15 to 34, 12% of those aged 35 to 54 and 14% of those aged 55 to 64 were unemployed. Among those without disabilities, 12% of those aged 15 to 34, 7% of those aged 35 to 54, and 9% of those aged 55 to 64 were unemployed. The unemployment rate of those with severe disabilities (28%) was over twice the rate of those with mild disabilities (12%). Most unemployed

people with disabilities were looking for full-time work (71%).

Women with disabilities (16%) had a higher unemployment rate than men with disabilities (13%). Among people without disabilities, the unemployment rates of men and women were the same (10%).

Low employment income among those with disabilities

Just under one-third of

people aged 15 to 64 with disabilities received disability-related income from at least one source in 1990. This income ranged from Social Assistance (12%) and disability pension (10%) to Worker's Compensation (6%) and employer insurance plans (3%). Many types of income support are only available to people who are not working, and thus do not assist people living with low employment incomes. Most people aged 15 to 64 with disabilities (61%), however, had income from employment. Eighty-two percent of people without disabilities had an employment income.

The average annual employment income of people with disabilities was \$22,100 in 1990.⁴ This was more than \$3,000 below the average employment income of people without disabilities. Employment income was lowest among those who were severely disabled. People with severe disabilities earned an average of \$18,000 in 1990, compared with \$19,900 for those with moderate disabilities, and \$23,500 for those with mild disabilities.

Average employment incomes of people with and without disabilities were higher in each successive age group from ages 15 to 34 to ages 35 to 54. People aged 55 to 64 with disabilities, however, had lower employment incomes than did those in younger age groups, while non-disabled people that age had employment incomes that were as high as those of younger people. This may be a reflection of the higher incidence of severe disabilities among people aged 55 to 64 with disabilities.

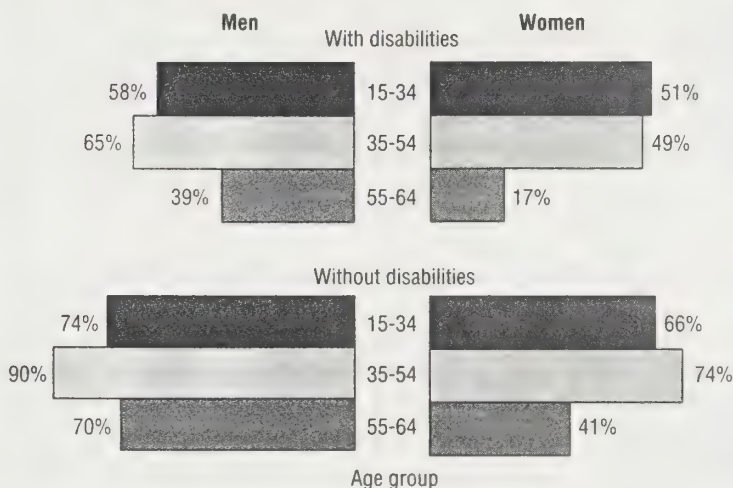
Among people aged 15 to 64 with disabilities, the average employment income of women (\$15,800) was 59% of that of men (\$27,000). This was similar to the proportion in the population without disabilities. The average annual employment income of women without disabilities (\$18,300) was 58% of that of men (\$31,500).

People with disabilities are more likely than others to have low employment incomes. Forty-three percent of employed people with disabilities earned less than \$15,000 in 1990, while 37% of people

More than half of young people with disabilities were employed

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% employed, by presence of disability, 1991

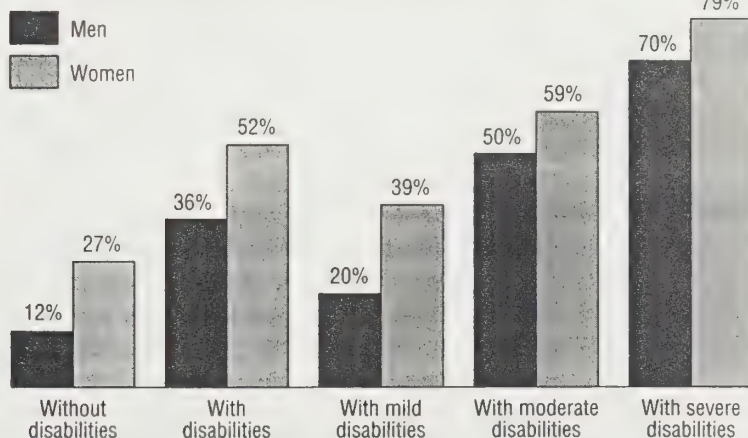


Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey.

Most people with severe disabilities not in the labour force¹

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% aged 15-64 not in the labour force, by presence of disability, 1991



¹ Employed or actively looking for work.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey.

³ This included all levels of education from elementary school through university.

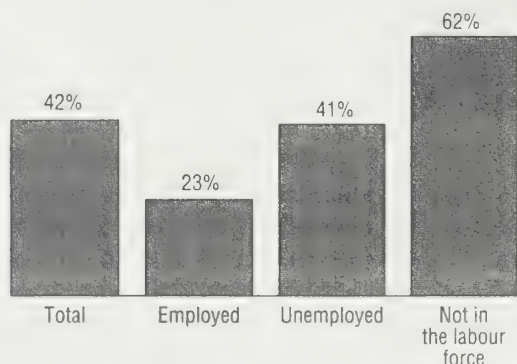
⁴ Includes the incomes of both part-time and full-time workers.

without disabilities earned that amount. Also, 11% of employed people with disabilities earned \$45,000 or more, compared with 15% of those without disabilities.

Many believe their disability would be considered a disadvantage by an employer

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% aged 15-64 with disabilities reporting this belief, by labour force status, 1991

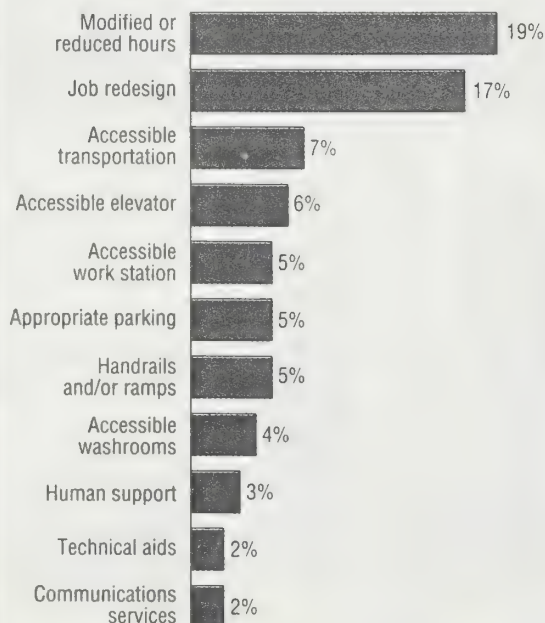


Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey.

Less than 20% of adults with disabilities would require accommodations in the workplace

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% aged 15-64 reporting a need for accommodations in the workplace, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey.

Added costs of living for people with disabilities In daily life, people with disabilities often incur costs that are not experienced by people without disabilities. The problem of added costs is often compounded by low employment incomes. In 1990, 33% of the population aged 15 to 64 with disabilities had disability-related expenses that were not reimbursed by either an insurance or health plan. The most commonly reported expenses were for prescription and non-prescription drugs (25%) and transportation (10%).

Many feel an employer would consider their disability a disadvantage In 1991, 42% of people aged 15 to 64 with disabilities believed that an employer would consider their disability a disadvantage. Those not in the labour force were the most likely to believe this (62%), while employed people were the least likely (23%). This is not surprising given that people not in the labour force were more likely than those with employment to be severely disabled. People with severe (76%) and moderate (57%) disabilities were more likely than those with mild disabilities (24%) to believe that their disability would be considered a disadvantage.

Many who were employed also reported that they felt their career progression was held back by their disability. In 1991, 26% stated that their disability made changing jobs or advancing in their current job difficult.

Some people with disabilities are limited in the kind of work they can do In 1991, 34% of employed people with disabilities reported that they were limited in the kind or amount of work that they could do. Those with severe (83%) or moderate (53%) disabilities, however, were more likely than those with mild disabilities (23%) to report being limited in this way.

People with disabilities who were unemployed (55%) were more likely than those who were employed to report this problem. Unemployed people with mild disabilities (44%), in particular, were much more likely than their employed counterparts to report being limited in the kind or amount of work that they could do. Unemployed people with severe disabilities, on the other hand, were about as likely as those who were employed to report this type of limitation.

Among those who were not in the labour force, 59% stated that their disability completely prevented them from working. Twenty percent stated that they could work, but were limited in the kind or amount of work that they could do, while the remaining 20% did not report any such problems. Most of those who did not report being limited had mild disabilities.

Accessibility of the workplace is a key to employment for people with disabilities The accessibility of the workplace largely determines whether or not people with disabilities can work. The types of accommodations needed to make a workplace accessible depend on the individual, and range from physical alterations, to technical equipment, to a flexible schedule. In many cases, it is the employer's commitment to the integration of people with disabilities that makes the difference.

Very few people with disabilities in 1991 reported that they would need physical modifications in the workplace, such as accessible work stations and washrooms, elevators and ramps. About 2% of those employed, 6% of those unemployed and 10%

of those not in the labour force stated that they had this type of need. In addition, problems faced by those in need of physical modifications have lessened over the past fifteen years. Government grants are available to employers for physical alterations, and many buildings have been renovated to accommodate disabled people. Revisions to building codes have also made accessibility a feature of new building construction.

Some people with disabilities require other types of accommodations in the workplace, including accessible transportation (7%), appropriate parking (5%), human support (such as a personal assistant) (3%), technical aids (2%) and communications services (such as telecommunications devices for the deaf) (2%). While some of these accommodations

involve a sizeable financial commitment, others are relatively inexpensive. In addition, government grants are available to employers to cover the cost of purchasing technical equipment.

"Job redesign" or modified or reduced working hours were also needed by many people with disabilities. Job redesign refers to flexibility in the job description and may mean exchanging certain duties for others to allow for a person's disability. The essential components of the job, however, are maintained. Modified or reduced hours can accommodate the nature of a person's disability or aspects of their daily routine, such as attendant services or transportation arrangements.

In 1991, few people with disabilities who were employed reported that they needed their job redesigned (9%) or that they required reduced or modified working hours (8%). Not surprisingly, a larger proportion of people not in the labour force (25%) and of those unemployed (22%) reported that they would require a job to be redesigned. Similarly, 31% of those not in the labour force and 18% of those unemployed would require modified or reduced working hours.

Access to training is often limited for people with disabilities

In 1991, about 40% of both employed people with disabilities and unemployed people with disabilities stated that they had participated in work-related training courses at some point. Less than one-quarter of people with disabilities who were not in the labour force, however, had participated in these types of courses.

These differences are partially explained by severity levels: those unemployed or not in the labour force are more likely than those employed to have moderate or severe disabilities. Barriers, similar to those faced by people with disabilities seeking education in general, also confront people wanting work-related training. In addition, such training is often only accessible in segregated classes, thus limiting the choice of training available to people with disabilities.

Employment situation for disabled people is improving More open attitudes toward people with disabilities, as well as initiatives, such as the *Employment Equity Act*, have improved employment opportunities for people with disabilities. According to the Health and Activity Limitation Survey, the proportion of disabled adults



aged 15 to 64 who were employed increased to 48% in 1991 from 40% in 1986. Growth in employment was particularly strong among women. The proportion of disabled women aged 15 to 64 who were employed increased to 41% in 1991 from 31% in 1986. Over the same period, the proportion of disabled men that age who were employed grew to 56% from 50%.

Other improvements have also helped people with disabilities participate in the workplace and their community. Building designs for residential properties, for example, have begun to meet the needs of people with disabilities. In addition, many urban public transportation systems, which have been largely inaccessible to people with disabilities, have initiated special

programs to aid those who cannot use their regular services.

As a result of these and other initiatives, people with disabilities are becoming more visible in their communities. Although the need for continued recognition of disability issues from governments and the private sector still exists, the increased visibility of disabled people might, in and of itself, help to reduce remaining barriers to full participation.

• For more information on people with disabilities see **A Portrait of Persons with Disabilities**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 89-542E.

Alan Shain is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends*.

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LEAVING THE NEST?

THE IMPACT OF FAMILY STRUCTURE

by Monica Boyd and Doug Norris



Many young, unmarried adults¹ continue to live with their parents well into their twenties. For these young adults, the decision to live at home is often weighed between a desire for privacy and independence, and a preference for companionship, and financial and emotional support.² For many, the deciding factor is their economic situation.

According to the census, the proportion of men and women aged 15 to 29 who were living at home declined, if only slightly, between 1971 and 1981. In 1986, however, the proportion of young adults living at home increased slightly.³ At that time, there was speculation that economic pressures were leading adult children to return to the nest and that this trend could continue. In 1991, however, the proportion of young men and women living at home declined slightly.⁴

Living at home can benefit young adults by giving them time to invest in their education or to find a job that would allow them to set up an independent household. This type of parental support may be particularly important to young people today, given that youth unemployment is high.

Parents can also benefit from having young adults at home. Adult children can contribute to the physical and financial maintenance of the household and provide companionship. In particular, parents with low incomes may rely on the earnings of adult children to improve the family's standard of living, while elderly parents may depend on adult children for help with the management of household affairs.

Living together may be a negative experience for both parents and adult children, however, if there is conflict among family members. Adult children whose parents are no longer living together, particularly those whose parents have remarried, are less likely to live at home than those whose parents are still together. The complex nature of family relationships following marital breakdown and remarriage, and any resulting conflict, can lead young people to leave home. Research has shown that adult children with step-parents at home, so-called "blended families," are more likely than others to say that they left home because of family conflict.⁵

Although leaving home is considered part of the natural progression to adulthood, it can have devastating effects on those who go when they are too young or without skills. Early home leaving often leads to a greater emphasis on employment than on education. There is also a tendency toward early marriages or common-law relationships.²

For all young adults, however, the consequences of leaving home depend on their age at departure, their destination and parental support after departure. Ultimately, relationships between parents and children can be close, even though they live apart, or weak, even though they live together.²

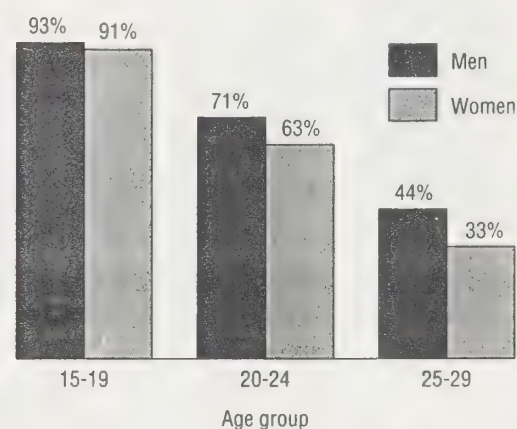
About two-thirds of men and women aged 20 to 24 live with a parent The ability to be self-supporting financially and the desire for independence generally increase with age. Not

surprisingly, therefore, unmarried adults in their late twenties are less likely to be living with a parent than those in their teens. According to the 1991 Census, most unmarried men and women aged 15 to 19 (93% and 91%, respectively) and aged 20 to 24 (71% and 63%, respectively) lived with at least one parent. Among adult children aged 25 to 29, 44% of unmarried men and 33% of unmarried women lived at home.

Children of divorced or widowed parents less likely to live at home... Young unmarried adults are more likely to be living with parents if both are alive and living together than if the parental marriage has dissolved through divorce or death.

Most adults under age 25 live at home CST

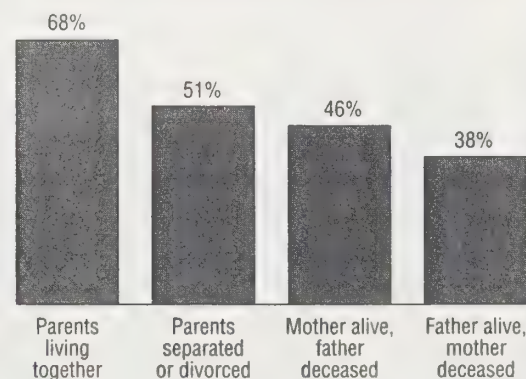
% of unmarried adults living with a parent, 1991¹



¹ Those living in a common-law union were considered married. Those married whose spouse was absent were considered unmarried.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Young adults most likely to live at home if parents still together CST

% of unmarried adults aged 18-29 living with a parent, 1990¹



¹ Those living in a common-law union were considered married.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1990 General Social Survey.

¹ Those living in a common-law union were considered married.

² Lynn White, "Coresidence and Leaving Home: Young Adults and Their Parents," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1994:Vol.20, pp.81-102.

³ Monica Boyd and Edward Pryor, "Young Adults Living in Their Parents' Homes," *Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 1989.

⁴ For more information on census trends see Monica Boyd and Doug Norris, "The Cluttered Nest Revisited: Young Canadian Adults at Home in the 1990s," Working Paper Series 94-127. Center for the Study of Population and Demography, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

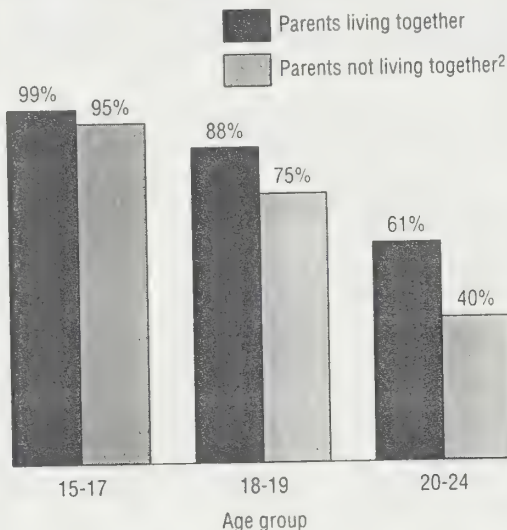
⁵ Kathleen E. Kiernan, "The Impact of Family Disruption in Childhood on Transitions Made in Young Adult Life," *Population Studies*, 1992:Vol.46, pp.213-234.

According to the 1990 General Social Survey (GSS), over two-thirds of unmarried adults aged 18 to 29 whose parents were together were living in the parental home. In contrast, only about one-half of those with separated or divorced parents were still living with a parent. Those with a deceased parent were least

Children of divorced or separated parents are less likely to live at home, even in their teens

CST

% of unmarried adults living with a parent, 1990¹



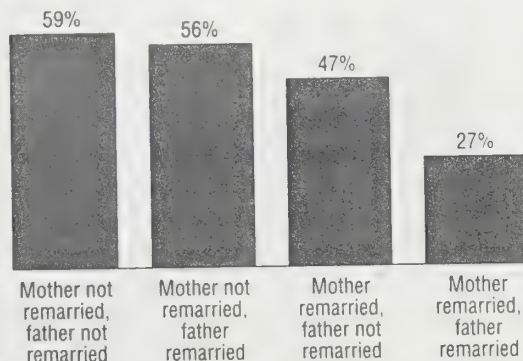
¹ Those living in a common-law union were considered married.

² Parents were separated or divorced, or one parent was deceased.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1990 General Social Survey.

Adult children of divorced parents most likely to live at home if neither parent has remarried

CST

% of unmarried children aged 18-29 of divorced parents living with a parent, 1990¹



¹ Those living in a common-law union were considered married.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1990 General Social Survey.

likely to live at home. The proportion living at home was higher, however, if the surviving parent was the mother (46%), than if it was the father (38%).

Teenagers aged 15 to 17 were also more likely to live at home if both parents were living together. In 1990, 99% of children aged 15 to 17 whose parents were living together were living at home, compared with 95% of those whose parents were divorced or widowed. Differences were even greater among older children. Young people aged 20 to 24 were much more likely to live at home if their parents were still together (61%) than if they were not (40%).⁶

...especially if their parents have remarried Adult children in blended families are particularly vulnerable to leaving home early. This is because relations between step-parents and step-children may lessen intergenerational closeness, weaken favourable attitudes toward the continued support of adult children, and generate conflict over parental authority and discipline of children.⁷ In addition, parental remarriage may involve a move to a new neighbourhood or community. Young adult children may prefer to live where they have already established roots.

Among those with divorced or widowed parents, young adults aged 18 to 29 were much more likely to live at home if they could live with a parent who had not remarried. When neither parent had remarried, 59% of young adults with divorced parents were still living at home. In contrast, when both parents had remarried, only 27% of young adults were still living at home. Among those with only one remarried parent, a higher proportion of young adults lived with a parent if the father had remarried (56%) than if the mother had (47%).

Most children of divorced parents live with their mother

According to the 1990 GSS, when neither parent had remarried, 67% of young adults living with a parent lived with their mother. When both the mother and the father had remarried, 77% of young adults living with a parent lived with their mother. When the mother had not remarried and the father had remarried, 98% of young adults living with a parent lived with their mother. The only exception to this was when the mother had remarried and the father had not. In that situation, most young adults living with a parent (72%) lived with their father.

This tendency to live with a mother is related, in many cases, to the living arrangements young adults had as children. Following divorce, the vast majority of children are placed in their mother's custody. Even if divorce occurs when children are already adults, these children may choose to live with their mothers to remain close to their younger siblings or because their mother had a greater role as their care giver when they were younger. Since most children of divorce have a history of living with their mother, it is likely the mother's living arrangements, more than the father's, that determine whether or not the young adult continues living with a parent.

Nonetheless, when remarriage occurs for one parent and not for the other, a young adult living at home is more likely to be with the unmarried parent, regardless of whether it is the father or the mother. This may be because many young adults want to avoid the family conflict that can arise in blended families.

Conclusion Over the past thirty years, divorces and remarriages have become much more common, and the proportion of children with divorced parents has grown. As a result, in the next two decades, when many of these young children reach adulthood, the proportion of adults aged 18 to 29 with divorced parents will also grow. Given that adult children of divorced or remarried parents are less likely than those whose parents are still together to live at

home, the proportion of young adults living at home may fall in the future.

It is difficult to know what impact living at home has on young adults. For many, it enhances their future by giving them time to invest in their education or to increase their work experience. For some, however, it can result in family conflict or postpone their transition to an adult role.

It is equally difficult to predict the consequences of leaving home. For many young adults, leaving home is associated with steps to adulthood, including school completion, taking a job and establishing independence. Some young adults, however, leave home before they are prepared to be on their own. These young adults may interrupt their education prematurely, and thus restrict their employment opportunities.

⁶ The 1990 GSS sample of children aged 25 to 29 who were living at home was too small to examine separately.

⁷ Barbara A. Mitchell, Andrew B. Wister and Thomas K. Burch, "The Family Environment and Leaving the Parental Home," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1989: Vol. 51, pp. 605-613.

- More information on this topic can be found in Monica Boyd and Doug Norris, "Mom, Dad, and Me: Family Structure and Young Adults Living at Home," **Canadian Families Today**, Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, forthcoming.

Dr. Monica Boyd is the Mildred and Claude Pepper Distinguished Professor of Sociology, Florida State University and Adjunct Professor, University of Alberta. **Dr. Doug Norris** is the Director of the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Blended families are becoming more common

With marital breakdown comes the possibility of remarriage and the creation of new families which bring together parents and children without blood ties. These so-called "blended families" are likely more prevalent today than they were thirty years ago because divorce rates have been rising and remarriage has become much more common.

Following Canada's 1968 *Divorce Act*, which substantially liberalized the conditions for obtaining a divorce, the number of divorces granted each year for every 10,000 marriages increased greatly from 1,367 in 1968 to 3,908 in 1986. In 1986, a new *Divorce Act* was introduced which reduced the amount of time a couple had to be separated before a divorce could be granted. Following the new *Act*, the number of divorces for every 10,000 marriages peaked at 4,789 in 1987. Since then, the number has declined each year, reaching 3,763 in 1991. The decrease in the divorce rate in recent years is partly related to a decrease in marriages as couples increasingly choose to live common law.¹

Since each divorce adds two new people to the pool eligible for remarriage, it is not surprising that each year the proportion of marriages that contain at least one previously married spouse has increased. From the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, about 13% of all marriages involved at least one person who had been married before. By the early 1990s, close to one-third of all marriages included a previously married person. Of those who were remarrying, more than half were younger than age 45, and thus were likely to have had young children from their previous union. As a result, many, if not most, of these new marriages would have created a blended family.

Divorce and remarriage figures do not capture all of the possible types of blended families that are created, however, because they do not consider the formation and dissolution of common-law unions. These unions may break-down and new unions form without any record.

Considering both common-law unions and marriages, estimates from the 1990 GSS indicate that about 10% of families with children under age 19 were blended families. In addition, many more families may have been blended at one time but that family had since dissolved.

Thus, compared with the post-war period, there is considerable flux in the family life of children today. The experiences of many are shaped by custody arrangements, life in a lone-parent family or life in new families with step-parents and step-siblings. These new families, in turn, may dissolve or change before children reach adulthood.

¹ Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1994, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-209E.

ALCOHOL

ALTHOUGH MOST CANADIANS DRINK ALCOHOL moderately and responsibly, a small proportion of Canadians abuse alcohol to an extent where it creates problems for themselves and for others around them. Those who drink heavily or who frequently binge drink can have problems with friends, marriage, home life, work and finances. In addition, people who drink are more likely than others to have problems with other drinkers, such as being a passenger with a drunk driver or being assaulted by someone who has been drinking. Further, problem drinking can have major social costs such as lost productivity, family violence, health problems, accidental injuries and death. Knowing who drinks, and who has problems as a result of this behaviour, is essential for supporting the development of strategies to help these individuals and others affected by their alcohol use.

Most Canadians drink Since the late 1970s, the proportion of adults who drink alcohol has been declining. According to the 1993 General Social Survey (GSS), 74% of Canadians aged 15 and over were current drinkers, that is, they drank at least one alcoholic beverage¹ that year. This proportion was down from 84% in 1978² and 78% in 1989.³ Over the same period, the proportion of people who used to drink, but had stopped, rose to 18% in 1993 from 4% in 1978. Relatively few Canadians reported never having had a drink in 1993 (8%), down from 12% in 1978.

In addition, heavy drinking has become less common. Almost half (46%) of current drinkers were considered heavy drinkers, that is, they consumed 5 or more drinks on at least one occasion in 1993. In contrast, according to the 1989 National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey, 51% of Canadians consumed 5 or more drinks on at least one occasion that year.

Recent declines in heavy drinking, as well as in the proportion of Canadians who drink, are likely due, in part, to changes in people's attitudes toward drinking. With increased awareness of health and other risks related to alcohol consumption, moderate drinking has become more common.



and its **CONSEQU**

USE



EXPERIENCES

Despite shifts in drinking habits, however, the average amount of alcohol consumed by current drinkers has varied only slightly since the mid-1980s. In both 1993 and 1989, these people drank an average of 4 drinks per week, compared with 5 drinks per week in 1985.⁴

Drinking patterns vary across the country According to the GSS, 77% of adults living in Ontario consumed alcohol in 1993, compared with 75% of those in the Prairie provinces and 74% of those in the Atlantic provinces. Residents of Quebec (72%) and British Columbia (71%) were the least likely to have drunk alcohol. Among those who drank, differences in the amount of alcohol consumed were small. On average, current drinkers in Quebec drank only slightly more each week (5 drinks) than those in the other provinces (4 drinks).

Current drinkers in the Atlantic provinces (53%) and those in the Prairies (50%) were more likely than those in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia (each about 45%) to have consumed 5 or more drinks on at least one occasion in 1993. Among these people, the average number of heavy drinking occasions ranged from 18 in Quebec, and 17 in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, to 14 in the Prairies and 10 in British Columbia.

Young adults more likely to be heavy drinkers... People aged 20 to 24 were the most likely to have consumed alcohol in 1993 (85%). In each successive age group, the proportion dropped, falling from 82% among

¹ A drink was defined as one bottle of beer or glass of draft; one glass of wine or a wine cooler; or one straight or mixed drink with 44 ml. (1.5 oz.) of hard liquor.

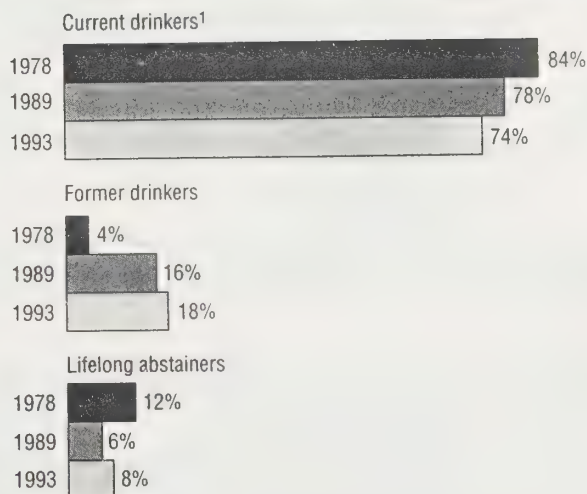
² Health Canada and Statistics Canada, Canada Health Survey.

³ Statistics Canada, National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey.

⁴ Health Canada and Statistics Canada, Health Promotion Survey.

Adults aged 15 and over now less likely to consume alcohol

CST



¹ The percentage in 1978 refers to those who drank at least once a month in the year before the survey. In 1989 and 1993, percentages refer to those who drank at least once in the 12 months before the survey.

Sources: Health Canada and Statistics Canada, 1978-79 Canada Health Survey; and Statistics Canada, 1989 National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey, and 1993 General Social Survey.

people aged 25 to 34 to 55% among those aged 65 and over. Among young people aged 15 to 19, 66% drank alcohol in 1993. This proportion may have been lower than that for people aged 20 to 24 because many young people aged 15 to 19 were not of legal drinking age.

Young adults aged 20 to 24 were also more likely to drink heavily, and to do so more often, than were people in other age groups. In 1993, 69% of current drinkers aged 20 to 24 and 66% of current drinkers aged 15 to 19 reported drinking 5 or more drinks on at least one occasion. In contrast, only 15% of current drinkers aged 65 and over were heavy drinkers. Furthermore, people aged 20 to 24 who drank heavily did so an average of 19 times in 1993. Among heavy drinkers in other age groups, the number of heavy drinking occasions ranged from 14 to 17. Regardless of age, however, current drinkers consumed similar amounts of alcohol, averaging between 4 and 5 drinks per week.

...as are men Only among people aged 15 to 19 did a larger proportion of women (69%) than men (64%) drink in 1993. In all older age groups, men

were more likely than women to consume alcohol. Furthermore, the gap between the proportions of men and women who drank increased with age. For example, while 89% of young men and 80% of young women aged 20 to 24 drank, 66% of senior men and 47% of senior women consumed alcohol. As a result, men overall were more likely to drink alcohol (81%) than were women (68%).

Regardless of age, men who drink tend to consume more than women who drink. Among those who drank in 1993, men consumed almost three times more each week (an average of 6 drinks) than did women (2 drinks). Men, however, are generally able to drink more than women without becoming impaired because they tend to weigh more and to have a lower percentage of body fat.

Men are also more likely than women to drink heavily. Of those who drank alcohol in 1993, more than one-half (58%) of men had 5 or more drinks on any one occasion, compared with one-third of women. Of people who drank heavily, men did so an average of 19 times during the year, while women did so an average of 8 times.

Frequent heavy drinking more common among people with only some postsecondary education...

Just over 80% of people with a university degree or with some postsecondary education had consumed alcohol in 1993, compared with 76% of those with a high school diploma and 62% of those who had not completed high school. This pattern was similar for men and women.

Differences in drinking behaviour by educational attainment were partly due to age. Younger people, who were the most likely to drink, generally had higher levels of educational attainment than did older Canadians. Those with some postsecondary education, in particular, tended to be young. This is because this group included those who had not yet completed their education. Nonetheless, regardless of age, people who had less than a high school education in 1993 were the least likely to drink.

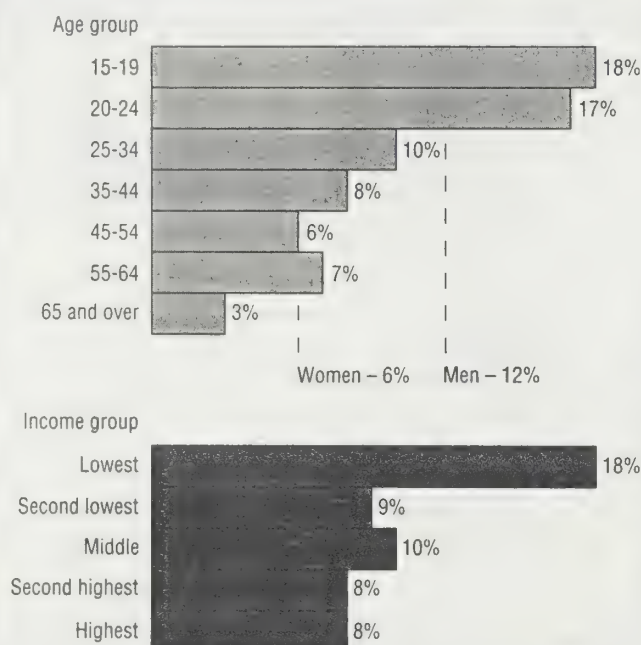
University-educated Canadians and those who had not completed high school were the least likely to have reported one or more heavy drinking occasions (each 44%), while adults with some postsecondary education were the most likely (53%). Heavy drinkers with some postsecondary education also reported the highest average number of heavy drinking occasions (20 in 1993). This was similar to the situation among those who had not completed high school (an average of 19 occasions). In contrast, university graduates who reported drinking heavily did so an average of 13 times.

...and among those with lower incomes In 1993, 88% of people in the highest of five household

Current drinkers aged 15-24 and those in the lowest income group most likely to have drinking-related problems

CST

% of current drinkers reporting problems related to their drinking, 1993



Source: Statistics Canada, 1993 General Social Survey.

income groups⁵ and 82% of those with the next highest incomes reported drinking. Almost three-quarters (72%) of those in the middle-income group had consumed alcohol, as had 67% of those in the second lowest and 63% of those in the lowest income group.

In addition, current drinkers in the highest income group were the most likely to have reported that they drank heavily at least once in 1993 (53%), while those in the second lowest income group were the least likely (39%). Among those who drank heavily, however, people with the highest incomes reported the lowest average number of heavy drinking occasions (13). In contrast, heavy drinkers with the second lowest incomes reported the highest average number of heavy drinking occasions (21).

In all income groups, men were more likely than women to drink alcohol. As income increased, however, the gap between the proportion of men and women who consumed alcohol narrowed considerably. Among those in the lowest income group, for example, 73% of men drank alcohol, compared with 56% of women. In contrast, among those in the highest income group, 89% of men and 85% of women reported having consumed alcohol.

The proportion of current drinkers declined with age in all income groups. In the highest income group, however, differences were small: 91% of those aged 15 to 24 reported that they drank, compared with 82% of those aged 55 and over. In contrast, in the lowest income group, the proportion of people aged 15 to 24 who were current drinkers (82%) was double that of those aged 55 and over (41%).

Problems related to drinking increase with the number of heavy drinking occasions Moderate drinking may have some health benefits. For example, it appears to have a protective effect against some forms of cardiovascular disease and of cancer.⁶ The use, and in particular, the abuse of alcohol, however, is not without risk. For example, 5% of people who drank in 1993 reported that their drinking affected their finances and their physical health. About 2% reported that their drinking harmed their marriage and home life, as well as their social life and relationships with friends. Just over 1% said they had problems with their work or school.

Although men were more likely than women to have had every kind of drinking-related problem, financial and health difficulties were the most common problems reported by both men and women.

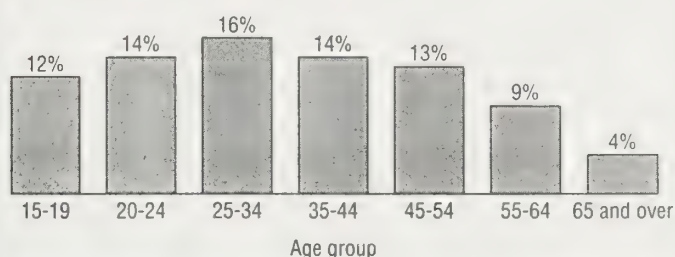
In 1993, among those who consumed alcohol, men (7%) were more than twice as likely as women (3%) to have reported that their drinking harmed their physical health and their finances.

Overall, 9% of Canadians who consumed alcohol reported having had at least one problem related to their own drinking. People who often drank heavily, however, were by far the most likely to have had drinking-related problems. Over one-third (35%) of people who consumed 365 or more drinks in 1993 and who drank heavily at least 7 times during the year had some problem due to their drinking. In contrast, only 2% of those who never drank heavily and who had less than 365 drinks reported a problem.

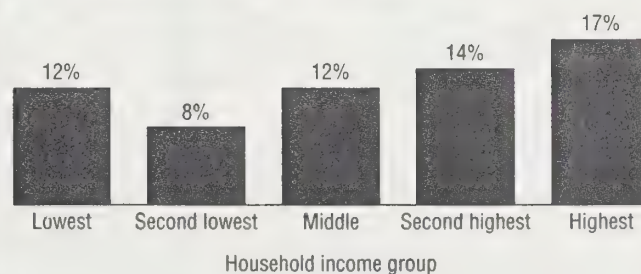
Drinking-related problems were more common among certain groups within the population. Among those who consumed alcohol, men (12%) were twice as likely as women (6%) to have had problems related to their own drinking in 1993. Also that year, young people were more likely than older people to have had drinking-related problems. For example, 17% of young adults aged 20 to 24 reported such problems, compared with only 3% of seniors. People with low incomes were also more likely than others to have had problems related to their own drinking. Among current drinkers, 18% of those with the lowest incomes reported such

People aged 25-34 most likely to drink and drive... CST

% who drove within one hour of having two or more drinks



...as are those in the highest income group



Source: Statistics Canada, 1993 General Social Survey.

⁵ Five income groups were derived taking into account both household income and household size. For a more detailed explanation, see Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-612E, No. 8.

⁶ See "Moderate Drinking and Health: Report of an International Symposium," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 1994; Vol. 151, No. 6.

problems, compared with 8% of those in the two highest income groups. Part of the reason that problems due to drinking are more common among men, young adults and those with low incomes is that these people tend to drink heavily more often than do others.

Drinking and driving still a problem One of the biggest hazards drinking can pose for people is its combination with driving a vehicle. In 1993, 13% of current drinkers reported that they had driven within one hour of having consumed 2 or more drinks. Men were three times as likely (18%) as women (6%) to have driven after drinking.

Unlike many other problems related to drinking, drinking and driving is highest among those aged 25 to 34 and those with high incomes. In 1993, 16% of current drinkers aged 25 to 34 reported driving within one hour of consuming 2 or more drinks. The proportion reporting drinking and driving declined to 13% among those aged 45 to 54 and to 4% among seniors. Seventeen percent of current drinkers in the highest income group drove within one hour of consuming 2 or more drinks. Drinking and driving was least common among those in the second lowest income group (8%).

Patterns of drinking and driving varied considerably across the country. Current drinkers in Quebec

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

Impaired driving declining

In 1987, the federal government introduced the *Long Term Program on Impaired Driving*. This program was designed to help reduce the number of traffic deaths and injuries related to drinking and driving. Despite declines in impaired driving over the past decade, this behaviour has remained a substantial public health and road safety problem in Canada. For example, in 1992, it was estimated that more than 1,600 people lost their lives in alcohol-related motor vehicle accidents.¹ Among drivers killed on Canadian roads, 48% had been drinking.² In addition, according to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, more than one-half (59%) of the 197,800 *Criminal Code* traffic offences reported in 1993 involved impaired driving.

The rate of people charged with impaired driving has decreased considerably since the late 1970s. For every 100,000 people, 322 people were charged with impaired driving in 1993, down from 588 people in 1978.

¹ *Dealing with DWI Offenders in Canada: An Inventory of Procedures and Programs, Final Report, 1994*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994.

² D.R. Mayhew, H.M. Simpson and S. Brown, *Alcohol Use Among Persons Fatally Injured in Motor Vehicle Accidents: Canada, 1992*. Ottawa: Traffic Injury Research Foundation of Canada.

Alcohol consumption in the Yukon Territory¹

Traditionally, it has been much easier to obtain alcohol in the Yukon Territory than in Canada's provinces. Drinking in a bar or tavern was allowed 7 days a week and liquor could be purchased 24-hours a day through licensed off-sale establishments. For many years, it was legal to carry a drink while walking down Main Street, or to drink while driving a car or truck.

Much of that changed in the 1980s, as new legislation began to reflect societal demands. Drinking in public places was abolished in Whitehorse in 1979, drinking while driving was disallowed in 1985, and 24-hour a day sales were stopped in 1986.

Changes in drinking behaviour accompanied these legislative changes. Although the Yukon Territory used to have the highest proportion of current drinkers in Canada, this was no longer the case in 1990. According to the 1990 Yukon Alcohol and Drug Survey, 77% of adult residents of the Yukon (78% of men and 76% of women) reported drinking that year. This was about the same as the national average (78%), and lower than the proportions in Alberta (82%), and British Columbia and Newfoundland (each 83%).

Although fewer people in the Yukon drink, those who do drink consume large amounts of alcohol. In 1990, 6% of the population aged 15 and over in the Yukon consumed 90 or more drinks per month. This accounted for 47% of all alcohol consumed in that territory. In the 10 provinces combined, only 3% of the population had more than 90 drinks per month in 1990, accounting for about 30% of all alcohol consumed.

In 1990, Aboriginal adults aged 15 and over in the Yukon were less likely to be current drinkers (63%) than were other Yukon residents (82%). Aboriginal adults were twice as likely (32%) as others (15%) to be former drinkers, and also slightly more likely (5%) than others (3%) to have never consumed alcohol.

¹ Based on the *Yukon Alcohol and Drug Survey Technical Report*, May, 1991. Available from The Yukon Government, Executive Council Office, Bureau of Statistics. The territories were not included in the 1993 General Social Survey.

were the most likely to have driven within one hour of consuming 2 or more drinks (19%). In contrast, 13% of those in British Columbia and in the Prairies, 11% in the Atlantic provinces, and 9% in Ontario reported drinking and driving.

Adult drinkers most likely to have problems resulting from others' drinking People who drink often socialize with other drinkers. It is not surprising, therefore, that people who drink are more likely than non-drinkers to have problems related to someone else's drinking. In 1993, 48% of people who had consumed alcohol reported having had a problem related to others' drinking, compared with 34% of those who were former drinkers, and 29% of those who had never consumed alcohol. This pattern was similar among both men and women.

In addition, heavy drinkers were even more likely to have had problems related to other people's drinking. Almost two-thirds of people who drank heavily on 7 or more occasions reported at least one problem resulting from other people's drinking. In contrast, just over one-half of those who drank heavily on 1 to 6 occasions, and 39% of those who never drank heavily, reported problems with other people's drinking.

Regardless of whether or not people had consumed alcohol in 1993, their most common complaints about problems with other people's drinking were related to loud parties and being insulted. Drinkers, however, were more likely than non-drinkers to have reported such problems. In 1993, 25% of current drinkers reported a problem with loud parties, compared with 22% of former drinkers, and 17% of lifelong abstainers. At the same time, 23% of current drinkers had been insulted by someone who had been drinking, while this was the case for 15% of former drinkers, and 11% of those who had never consumed alcohol.

Being in a car driven by someone who had been drinking, or being assaulted by a person who had consumed alcohol were less common problems, but were problems with potentially more severe consequences. In 1993, current drinkers were more than twice as likely (10%) as former drinkers (4%) and lifelong abstainers (3%) to have been a passenger in a car with someone who had been drinking. Also that year, 6% of people who drank had been assaulted by someone who had been drinking, compared with 4% of former drinkers, and 2% of those who had never consumed alcohol.

In 1993, Canadians were much more likely to have experienced problems as a result of someone else's drinking (44%) than as a result of their own drinking (9%). Although men (46%) were more likely than women (43%) to have had problems with other people's drinking, certain types of problems were more common among women. In particular, women were



twice as likely (12%) as men (6%) to have reported a problem with their marriage or home life as a result of someone else's drinking. Women were also more likely (2%) than men (1%) to have reported financial problems related to someone else's drinking. Similar proportions of men and women reported problems with loud parties (about 24%), being insulted (21%), and arguments (about 16%) related to others' drinking. Men, on the other hand, were more likely than women to have been assaulted by someone who had been drinking (7% compared with 5%), and to have been in a vehicle with someone who had been drinking (10% compared with 8%).

Efforts to reduce drinking-related problems

continue The Canadian government employs a range of strategies to minimize the harm that can be associated with alcohol use. These include taxation and price policies, controls on access to alcohol (such as limits on the conditions and times of sale, and minimum drinking ages) and measures against drinking and operating a vehicle. During the past twenty years, public campaigns have also been an important means of conveying the message of responsible alcohol use. One result of these efforts is that fewer people are being charged with impaired driving. Nonetheless, many Canadians continue to abuse alcohol, and that abuse can cause problems for them and for others around them.

- For more information on this topic, see Eric Single, Anne MacLennan and Patricia MacNeil, **Horizons 1994: Alcohol and Other Drug Use in Canada**, Health Canada, 1994.

CST



VANCOUVER'S DIVERSE

by Jennifer Chard

Vancouver is Canada's third largest and fastest growing census metropolitan area (CMA). Located on the mainland of south-western British Columbia, Vancouver is bordered by the Pacific Ocean on the west, Washington State on the south, and by the mountains of the Coast Range on the north. The physical size of the CMA has remained virtually unchanged for over two decades, with a land area of nearly 2,800 sq. km.

Strategically located at Canada's gateway to the Pacific rim, Vancouver and its economy have benefited from an increasing level of commercial activity with Asian trading partners. Vancouver's mild climate and natural beauty contribute to the area's appeal, and the CMA's population has grown at an increasing rate.

Many people have moved to the Vancouver CMA from elsewhere in Canada, as well as from outside the country. Shifts in immigration patterns have changed the CMA's ethnic composition dramatically in the past twenty years. Today, more than one-fifth of Vancouver residents are of Asian ancestry.

Rapid population expansion has contributed substantially to Vancouver's cultural diversity and to its economic well-being. At the same time, however, this growth has put pressure on the area's infrastructure. Social, education and health services have had to keep pace with changing demands, and issues such as traffic congestion, pollution and housing affordability have become areas of concern.

Home to a large and rapidly growing population In 1991, the 1.6 million people living in the Vancouver CMA accounted for 49% of British Columbia's population and 6% of Canada's total population. Only the populations of the Toronto (3.9 million) and Montréal (3.1 million) CMAs were larger than that of Vancouver.

Over the past two decades, Vancouver's population has grown at an accelerating rate. The number of residents increased twice as quickly between 1986 and 1991 (16%) as it did between 1971 and 1976 (8%). Among CMAs, population growth in Vancouver from 1986 to 1991 was second only to that in Oshawa (18%). Over the same period, Toronto's population rose 13%, while Montréal's grew 7%, and the total population of Canada increased 8%. Since the 1991 Census, Vancouver has been the fastest growing CMA in the country, with an average annual population increase of 2.5% between 1991 and 1994.

A large part of the Vancouver CMA's rapid population growth is attributable to patterns in internal migration as well as immigration. Twenty percent of the Vancouver CMA's growth between 1986 and 1991 was due to migration to the area from other parts of Canada. In addition, the CMA's immigrant population grew to 477,000 in 1991, up 22% from 392,000 in 1986.

A common destination for migrants and immigrants Net internal migration to Vancouver was higher than that to any other CMA in Canada in the five years prior to the last census. Between 1986

AND GROWING POPULATION

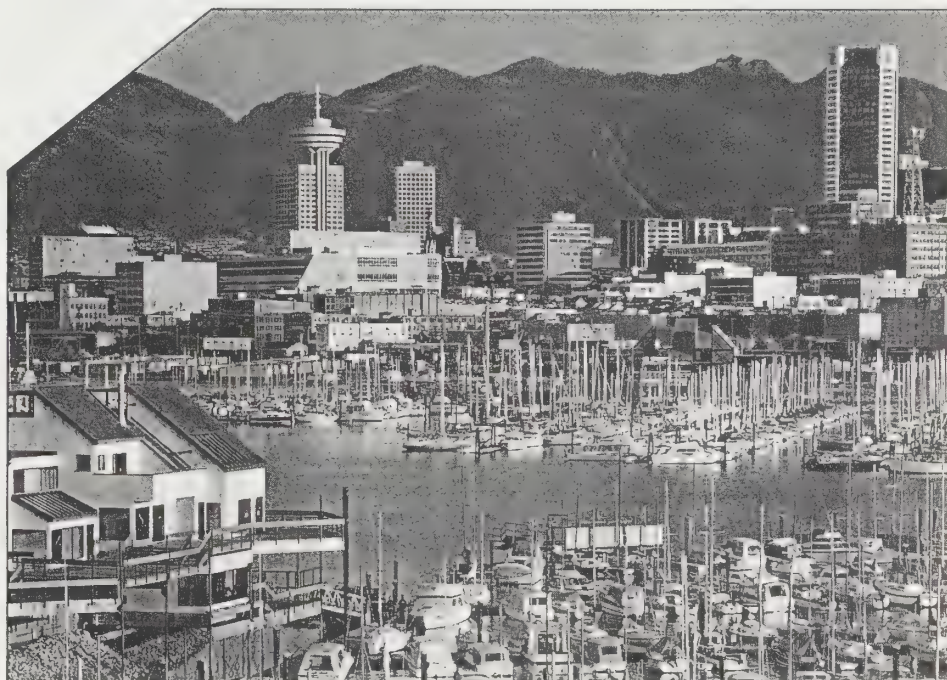
and 1991, 40,000 more people moved to Vancouver from other places in Canada, than moved away from Vancouver. This was 60% greater than net migration to Ottawa-Hull (25,000), the CMA with the next highest net migration. Both Toronto and Montréal had negative net migration (losses of 115,000 and 30,000 people, respectively) between 1986 and 1991.

Overall, 11% of immigrants living in Canada in 1991 made their home in Vancouver. Most of Vancouver's immigrants were relatively recent arrivals to this country. One-third came to Canada between 1981 and 1991, and 27% arrived between 1971 and 1980. Smaller proportions came between 1961 and 1970 (17%), and before 1961 (22%).

Political developments in China and the impending return of Hong Kong from British to Chinese rule have encouraged many Chinese to immigrate to Canada. Vancouver, with its location and established Chinese community, has attracted many of these recent immigrants. Nearly 40,000 immigrants from East Asia (mostly from China) arrived between January 1988 and May 1991.

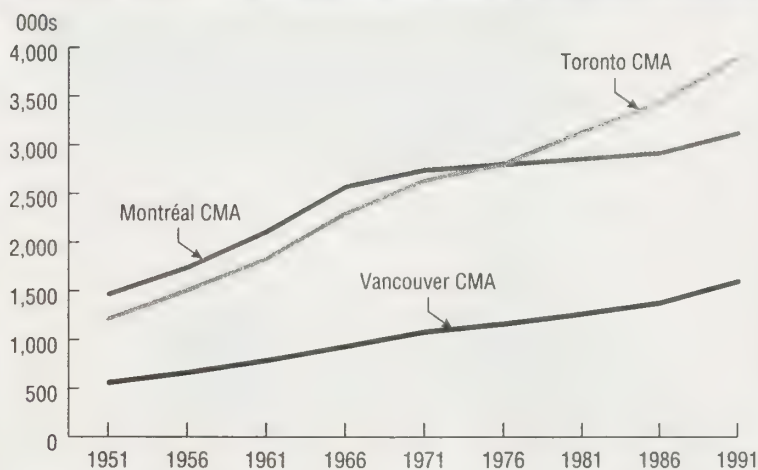
Of the 477,000 immigrants living in Vancouver in 1991, 44% were from Asian countries, 23% were from Europe and 18% were from the United Kingdom. Smaller proportions of Vancouver's immigrant population (5% or less) came from the United States, Oceania, Africa, Central and South America, and the Caribbean and Bermuda.

Most residents are of British or Asian ethnic origin In 1991, 65% of people in Vancouver reported belonging to only



The population of the Vancouver CMA grew to 1.6 million in 1991

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Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

one ethnic or cultural group, while 35% reported having two or more ethnic or cultural origins. Nearly one-quarter of Vancouver residents (23%) were of British-only origin. The next most common single ethnic origins were Chinese (11%), South Asian (5%) and German (4%). Only 2% of Vancouver residents were of French-only ancestry.

In comparison, across Canada, the most common single ethnic origin was British (28% of the total population), followed by French (23%) and German and Italian (3% each). People of Chinese-only descent accounted for 2% of Canada's population. In Toronto, people most often reported having single British (19%), Italian (8%), Canadian (7%) and Chinese origins (6%). In Montréal, the most frequently reported single ethnic origins were French (59%), British and Italian (5% each) and Jewish (2%).

Vancouver's ethnic composition has changed dramatically in recent years. In 1971, only 6% of Vancouver residents reported Asian origins (4% were Chinese).¹ By 1991, people of single Asian origins accounted for 20% of the CMA's population. East and South East Asian origins (14%), and South Asian origins (5%) were the most common, while 1% of Vancouver residents had other single Asian origins. In addition, of those who reported more than

one ancestry in 1991, 2% reported an Asian origin. In total, people of any Asian origin accounted for 22% of Vancouver's population that year.

Many residents speak languages other than English or French

More than one-quarter of Vancouver residents (27%) had a mother tongue (the first language learned and still understood) other than English or French in 1991. Most residents (82%), however, spoke only English in their homes. That year, 9% of Vancouver residents had a Chinese mother tongue, 3% had Punjabi and 2% had German. Next to English, the languages most often spoken at home by Vancouver residents were Chinese (7%) and Punjabi (2%).

While most people living in Vancouver speak at least one of Canada's official languages, just over 3% of those residing in the CMA could speak neither English nor French in 1991. That year, 4% of people living in Toronto, 2% living in Montréal and 1% of those across Canada could speak neither English nor French.

A well-educated population In 1991, over one-half (56%) of all Vancouver residents aged 15 and over had at least some postsecondary schooling, including 14% who had a university degree. In comparison, 52% of adults in Toronto had at least

some postsecondary education, including 17% who had a university degree. Adults in Montréal were the least likely to have had some postsecondary schooling (48%) or to have had a university degree (13%).

Less than one-third (30%) of adults in Vancouver had not graduated from high school by 1991. This was the case for 34% of adults in Toronto and for 35% of those in Montréal.

Higher labour force participation and lower unemployment

According to the 1994 Labour Force Survey, 69% of Vancouver residents aged 15 and over were in the labour force, that is, either employed or looking for work. As was the case across Canada, men in Vancouver had a higher labour force participation rate (76%) than did women (61%). These rates were slightly higher than those across Canada (73% of men and 58% of women), those in Toronto (74% of men and 60% of women), and those in Montréal (73% and 55%).

Unemployment rates were low in Vancouver compared to elsewhere in Canada. Vancouver residents who were unemployed (without a job and looking for work) made up 9% of all people in the CMA's labour force in 1994. That year, 13% of the labour force in Montréal, 10% in Toronto, and 10% across Canada were unemployed.

In 1994, the unemployment rate in Vancouver was higher among men (10%) than it was among women (8%). Similar to the overall situation in Canada, younger residents in Vancouver were more likely to be unemployed than were older residents. About 14% of Vancouver residents aged 15 to 24 were unemployed in 1994, compared with 9% of those aged 25 to 44, and 7% of those aged 45 and over. Nevertheless, young people in Vancouver were less likely to face joblessness than were their counterparts in Montréal (18%), Toronto (17%) and across Canada (17%).

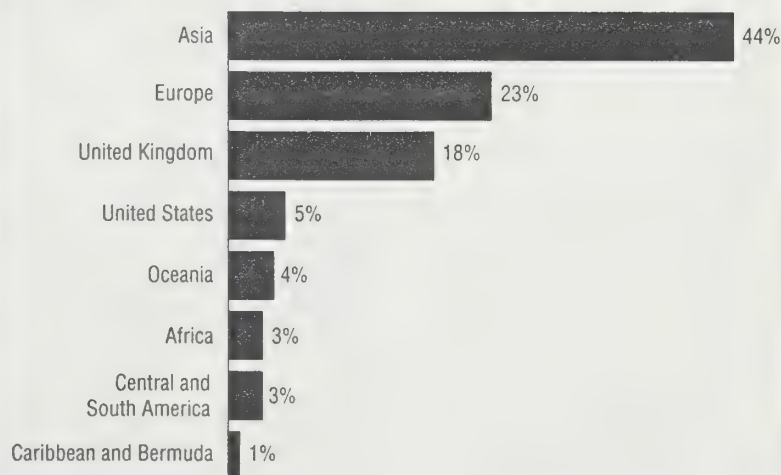
A high rate of self-employment

Vancouver residents who had worked in the year before the 1991 Census were more likely to be self-employed than were their counterparts in Toronto and Montréal.

¹ Only one ethnic background was recorded for each respondent in the 1971 Census. Starting in 1981, respondents were able to report more than one ethnic origin.

44% of immigrants living in the Vancouver CMA in 1991 were from Asian countries

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Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 95-389.

That year, 11% of Vancouver workers were self-employed, compared with 9% of Toronto workers and 8% of Montréal workers. Furthermore, women comprised a slightly larger proportion of the self-employed in Vancouver (29%) than in either Toronto (28%) or Montréal (26%).

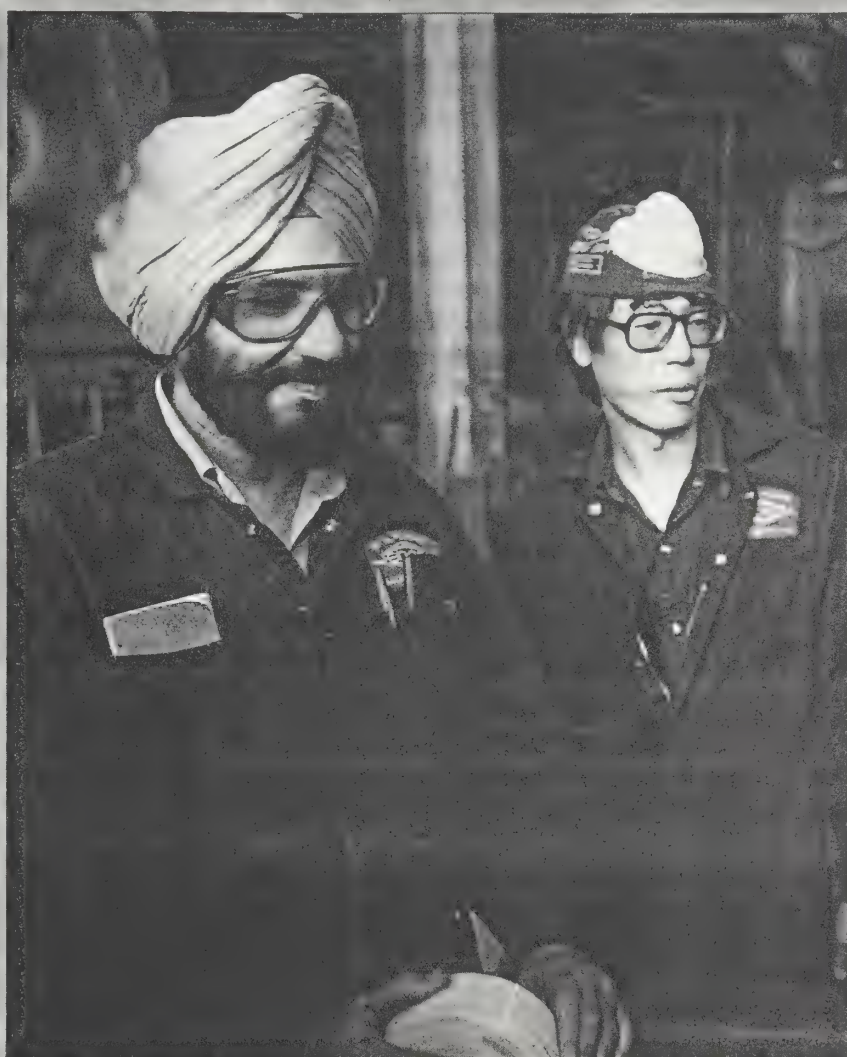
Nearly one-third of labour force employed in trade and manufacturing industries Wholesale and retail trade (19%) and manufacturing industries (11%) accounted for nearly one-third of Vancouver's employed labour force in 1991. Similar proportions of the employed labour force in Montréal and Toronto were in trade industries. Workers in Montréal (19%) and Toronto (18%), however, were more likely to be employed in manufacturing than were those in Vancouver.

For a large urban area, Vancouver has a relatively high concentration of people working in primary industries. In 1991, 2% of the CMA's employed labour force worked in primary industries, including fishing and forestry. In comparison, less than 1% of workers in Toronto and Montréal were employed in primary industries.

The occupational profile of Vancouver men did not differ considerably from that of men in Toronto and Montréal in 1991. Men in Vancouver most often worked in managerial and administrative (14%), sales (12%) and service occupations (11%). In comparison, women were most likely to be in clerical (35%), service (17%) and sales occupations (11%). The proportion of women in Vancouver employed as managers or administrators (9%) was smaller than that in Toronto (14%) and Montréal (12%).

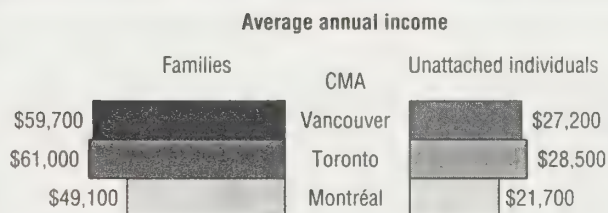
High average incomes, but women earn less... In 1993, the average annual family income in Vancouver was \$59,700. This was higher than the average annual family income across Canada (\$53,500) and in Montréal (\$49,100). The average annual family income in Toronto (\$61,000), however, was higher than that in Vancouver. Unattached individuals living in Vancouver had an average annual income of \$27,200, compared with \$28,500 in Toronto, \$21,700 in Montréal and \$23,300 across Canada.

Vancouver women who worked full-time all year earned less (\$29,100) than

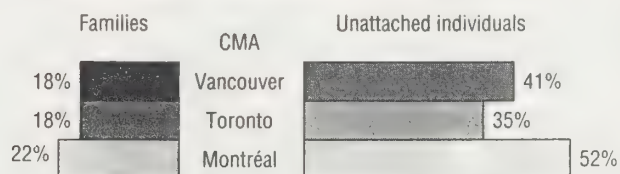


Average annual family income in Vancouver was \$59,700 in 1993

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% with incomes below the Low Income Cut-offs



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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Housing is expensive in Vancouver

Housing prices are higher in Vancouver than in most other places in Canada. In 1991, the average value of owner-occupied dwellings in Vancouver was \$244,500, compared with \$144,500 in Montréal. The same year, dwellings were worth, on average, \$187,100 in Victoria (British Columbia's next largest urban area). Only in Toronto was the average dwelling value higher (\$280,400) than it was in Vancouver.

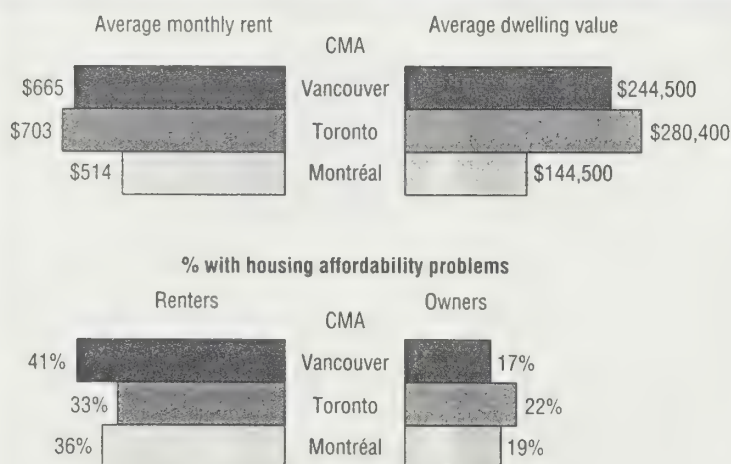
Rental accommodation also tends to be expensive in Vancouver. In 1991, the average monthly rent in Vancouver (\$665) was higher than that in any other CMA with the exception of Toronto, where renters paid an average of \$703 a month for accommodation. Montréal tenants paid, on average, \$514 a month in rent. Average monthly rent in Victoria was \$619.

The cost of housing is a problem for many Vancouver residents. When households pay more than 30% of their income on housing, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation considers them to have a housing affordability problem. In 1991, Vancouver had a higher proportion of renters with housing affordability problems (41%) than any other CMA except Victoria (44%). In comparison, 36% of Montréal renters and 33% of Toronto renters had problems affording housing in 1991.

The same year, 17% of Vancouver residents who owned their own homes spent at least 30% of their household income on major payments including utilities, monthly mortgage payments, property taxes and condominium fees. While Vancouver home-owners had higher housing costs than those across Canada, the proportion spending more than 30% was higher in both Toronto and Montréal. In 1991, 22% of home-owners in Toronto, 19% of those in Montréal and 15% of those across Canada spent 30% or more of their household income on housing.

In the Vancouver CMA, 41% of renters had problems affording housing¹ in 1991

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¹ At least 30% of household income spent on housing.

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 95-330, 95-354 and 95-389.

their male counterparts (\$43,900) in 1993. Nevertheless, men and women in Vancouver who worked full-time throughout 1993 earned more than men (\$39,400) and women (\$28,400) across Canada. The average earnings of women who worked full-time all year as a percentage of those of comparable men was somewhat lower in Vancouver (66%) than across the country (72%).

Proportion of residents living with low incomes has increased Vancouver families with average annual incomes below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs² (LICOs) accounted for 18% of all families living in the CMA in 1993, up from 13% in 1990. Similarly, the proportion of unattached individuals with low incomes increased to 41% in 1993, from 34% in 1990. Over the same period, the incidence of low income also increased across Canada, although less sharply than it did in Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal.

In 1993, 15% of families and 41% of unattached individuals across Canada had low incomes. The same year, 22% of families and 52% of unattached individuals in Montréal were living with low incomes, as were 18% of families and 35% of unattached individuals in Toronto.

² These cut-offs were determined from an analysis of 1992 family expenditure data. Families who, on average, spent 20% more of their total income than did the average family on food, shelter and clothing were considered to have low incomes. The LICO for a family of three living in Canada's largest cities was \$25,600 in 1993.

Jennifer Chard was an analyst with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division and is now with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

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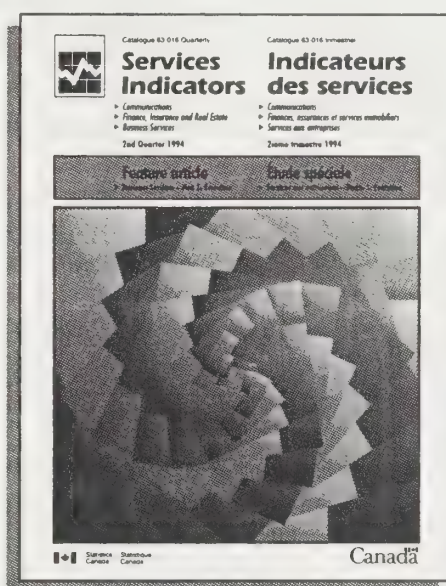
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TRACKING CHANGE

Longitudinal Information at Statistics Canada

It is no longer good enough to know about the current social conditions of Canada's people. We need to understand how they came about. — Ed.

Statistics Canada has recently launched several important surveys that have one thing in common: they collect information on the same people at different times in their lives. This type of survey, a longitudinal survey, provides reliable and accurate information about individuals' or families' experiences throughout part of their life cycle.

Before the introduction of longitudinal surveys, Statistics Canada gathered information on changes in people's lives by asking questions about past events. This approach, however, depends heavily on people's memory. Longitudinal surveys ask respondents about recent events or behaviours at different points in time. The responses to these questions provide a chronicle of the changes that have occurred in their lives. Longitudinal surveys also offer insight into how people are affected by their life experiences.¹

Statistics Canada's longitudinal surveys deal with important social and economic issues. Questions that can be investigated using the results of these surveys include:

- What are the characteristics, experiences and other factors associated with the development of healthy children?
- Why do some young people have problems making a transition from school to work?
- How do individuals and families adjust following a job loss?
- Are low-income families trapped or does their economic situation change over time?

Information from the Labour Market Activity Survey (LMAS), one of Statistics Canada's first longitudinal surveys, illustrates the type of analysis made possible by longitudinal surveys. The survey followed the labour market experiences of two panels of respondents: one from 1986 to 1987 and the other from 1988 to 1990. Results from this survey indicated that the labour force is in a constant state of flux.

During the three-year period from 1988 to 1990, for example, 45% of working age Canadians changed their labour force status. Some people entered the labour force for the first time, while others retired. Some people found paid work, while others became unemployed. Among people who had a job at some time during the three-year period, 39% had changed jobs. Workers who changed jobs had an average of 3 jobs over the period.

□ SURVEY OF LABOUR AND INCOME DYNAMICS

In 1993, Statistics Canada replaced the LMAS with the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), a new longitudinal survey that also examines labour market activity. SLID will track people's educational development, labour market experiences, as well as changes in family circumstances and income. The information collected from SLID will support the examination of factors that influence employment and income in an ever-changing labour market.

SLID began tracking a group of about 16,000 households in 1993. Data will be collected from this panel over a six-year period. A new longitudinal panel will be started every three years.

□ NATIONAL LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF CHILDREN

Many studies have speculated about the influence of children's upbringing, home and school experiences on their development throughout childhood and into adult life. To address the need for this type of information, Human Resources Development Canada (under the federal government's "Brighter Futures" program) contracted with Statistics Canada to jointly develop the National Longitudinal Survey of Children (NLSC). Survey results will generate a national database of the characteristics and life experiences of a sample of children as they grow from infancy to adulthood. Also covered by the survey are factors related to a child's environment, including family background, neighbourhood characteristics and school experiences. Results from the survey can be used to examine the critical factors influencing a child's development, particularly in their early developmental years.

The first cycle of the survey, administered in 1994-95, focussed on a sample of about 25,000 young children, from newborns to those aged 11. The NLSC will collect information on these children every two years until they reach adulthood.

□ NATIONAL POPULATION HEALTH SURVEY

Until now, little information has been available on how people's lifestyles and experiences affect their health over time. To fill this information gap, the National Population Health Survey (NPHS) was developed by Statistics Canada in consultation with representatives of Health Canada and the provincial and territorial Ministries of Health. On different occasions, the NPHS asked respondents about their health status, their use of health services and medications, and their lifestyle. The survey also collected demographic and economic information. Results from the NPHS will improve understanding of the determinants of good health, and support the development and evaluation of health policies and programs during a time of economic pressures on Canada's health-care system.

TRACKING CHANGE (cont.)

The NPHS began its first cycle of data collection in early June 1994. From each of the 26,000 households surveyed, one person aged 12 and over was selected for a more in-depth interview and became part of the longitudinal panel. The NPHS plans to collect information from this panel every two years over two decades. For children under age 12, the health survey was integrated with the National Longitudinal Survey of Children.

□ SURVEY ON SMOKING IN CANADA

Given the serious health consequences of smoking, there is a need to understand what motivates people to start, continue or stop smoking. Statistics Canada, on behalf of Health Canada, conducted a one-year longitudinal survey on a panel of Canadians. The survey measured the prevalence of cigarette smoking, the amount smoked, and any changes in smoking patterns over the year. It investigated the extent to which changes in smoking patterns were influenced by price changes, including changes in taxes.

Statistics Canada conducted the first cycle of the Survey on Smoking in Canada in the Spring of 1994, with a sample of about 20,000 individuals aged 15 and over. Respondents from this first cycle were interviewed three more times, with the last cycle occurring in February 1995. The study estimated that during the six months from May to November 1994, 509,000 Canadians aged 15 and over started smoking, while 657,000 quit.

□ SCHOOL LEAVERS SURVEY

Although almost two-thirds of all new jobs between 1991 and 2000 will require at least 13 years of schooling, and 45% will require more than 16 years,² many young people are dropping out of high school. Statistics Canada's 1991 School Leavers Survey, commissioned by Human Resources Development Canada, provided national information on the demographic and social characteristics of people leaving school before graduation, and on reasons why they dropped out. A follow-up survey, conducted in 1995, will ask these same young people about their school-to-work transitions.

The 1991 survey questioned a sample of over 9,000 people aged 18 to 20, including school leavers, graduates and those who were continuing their education. Respondents were asked about their school experiences, family background, and labour market and life outcomes. Results from the School Leavers Survey indicated that in 1991, 18% of 20-year-olds had not completed high school.³

In the Autumn of 1995, the School Leavers Follow-up Survey will conduct interviews with the 1991 respondents, who will then be between the ages of 22 and 24. The survey will gather information on their education and labour market activities since the end of high school. The School Leavers Follow-up Survey will also examine the extent to which young people possess the skills that help in finding employment. These

include basic skills such as numeracy, reading and writing, as well as communication, creativity, learning and teamwork skills.

□ SELF SUFFICIENCY PROJECT

In 1992, Human Resources Development Canada initiated the Self Sufficiency Project (SSP). This research project is designed to provide a broader understanding of the experiences of lone parents on Income Assistance programs in Canada. By offering an earnings supplement generous enough to provide an incentive to work, the SSP will examine how alternatives to welfare can help individuals and their families become more self-sufficient.

The project covers a sample of 9,400 lone parents in New Brunswick and British Columbia who, prior to the study, had been on Income Assistance for at least one year. The purpose of SSP is to determine whether an earnings supplement alone will encourage lone parents to find a full-time job and leave Income Assistance. Lone parents who find paid employment will be eligible to receive the earnings supplement for up to three years.

Statistics Canada's role is to manage the data collection activities and prepare the required research files. Surveys will be administered at the point of enrolment into the program, and then at 18, 36 and 54 months after enrolment.

□ THE EARNINGS SUPPLEMENT PROJECT

In recent years, the number of people receiving Unemployment Insurance (UI) has been increasing, as has the average benefit period. The Earnings Supplement Project (ESP), sponsored by Human Resources Development Canada, is a research project designed to determine if an earnings supplement would help regular UI claimants find work again as early as possible. In particular, the ESP is aimed at exploring ways of expanding employment possibilities and reducing the use of UI among displaced workers and repeat users. These two groups have historically drawn a disproportionate share of UI benefits.

Statistics Canada's role is to participate in the data development component of the ESP. By July 1996, about 20,000 participants in a selection of regions will have been identified and invited to enroll in the project. An ESP application form asking for some background work history and socio-demographic information will be completed at enrolment. Participants will then be assigned either to a group that will

¹ Longitudinal surveys also lend themselves to the analysis of data from a particular point in time (cross-sectional analysis). To ensure that the sample of respondents is large enough to support this type of analysis, some longitudinal surveys interview additional people who take part in the survey only once.

² Estimates from Human Resources Development Canada.

³ See Sid Gilbert and Bruce Orok, "School Leavers," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1993.

TRACKING CHANGE (cont.)

receive the supplement or to a control group. Statistics Canada will conduct a follow-up survey 15 months after participants' enrolment in the project.

❑ LONGITUDINAL ADMINISTRATIVE DATABASE

A new longitudinal database supports analysis of income changes over the life course of a representative sample of the population. The Longitudinal Administrative Database (LAD) was created in 1993 by the Small Area and Administrative Data Division at Statistics Canada, in association with Human Resources Development Canada, Health Canada and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

With the LAD, the dynamics of income and demographics can be identified and examined. For example, movements in and out of low income can be related to other factors such as age, family composition and migration. LAD information is currently being used to study the impact of alimony and child support payments on the incomes of both payers and recipients.

The LAD follows a sample of 1% of T1 Personal Income Tax records from 1982 to 1992. Data for 1993 will be added by December 1995. As with all Statistics Canada data, these records were masked to protect the confidentiality of the information.

For more information about these longitudinal studies, contact:

- **National Longitudinal Survey of Children:**
Gilles Montigny (613)951-9731
- **National Population Health Survey:**
Gary Catlin (613) 951-3830
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- **Longitudinal Administrative Database:**
Shelley Harris (613)951-4660

CST



EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for "Vancouver's Diverse and Growing Population"

Objectives

- ❑ To expose students to demographic statistics on Vancouver and an objective analysis of the data.
- ❑ To review the basic elements of and procedures for creating a table.
- ❑ To serve as a stimulus for generating discussion on the theme of public policy on housing.

Method

1. Begin by having the students read the first half of the article.
2. Have the students construct tables summarizing the data on population growth and ethnic mix by age or region.
3. As a class, examine the tables produced by the students. Discuss whether the tables can be completed using information in the article; and if not, where data to complete the tables could be found.
4. Have the students re-read the first four paragraphs. In small groups or as a class, generate a list of problems that could be caused by the rapid expansion of Vancouver's population.
5. Have the students read the rest of the article. As a class, discuss whether the data suggest that any of the problems in the class list are occurring in Vancouver. Summarize the key points on the board for the students.

Using other resources

- ❑ Use the E-STAT or the Census CD-ROMs from Statistics Canada to analyse the demographic profile of your municipality or region. What are the similarities and differences between your area and Vancouver?
- ❑ Examine the interrelationships of population, economy and the natural environment with *Human Activity and the Environment: Teachers' Kit*, Statistics Canada product number 10-300-2XKE.



Share your ideas!

Do you have lessons using CST that you would like to share with other teachers? Send your ideas or comments to Harris Popplewell, Social Science Teacher at J.S. Woodsworth Secondary School, c/o Joel Yan, University Liaison Program, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0T6. FAX (613) 951-4513. Internet: yanjoel@statcan.ca.



EDUCATORS – You may photocopy *Educators' Notebook* for use in your classroom.

Moonlighting



Over the past decade, the number of families with one or both spouses moonlighting (holding more than one job) increased by more than 50% – reaching 362,000 in 1994. The families most likely to have moonlighters are young and have no children at home.

Perspectives on Labour and Income, Summer 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001E.

Higher education



Total university enrolment almost doubled between 1972 and 1993 even though the number of Canadians aged 18 to 24 had declined. Women have been enrolling at a faster rate than men. From 1972 to 1993, women's enrolment grew 151%, compared with 39% for men. Students aged 25 and over are a growing minority on campus. This group grew by 142%, while the under 25 age group grew by 65%.

Education Quarterly Review, Spring 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 81-003.

Policing



In 1993, there were 56,876 police officers in Canada, 115 fewer than the year before. This represented one police officer for every 509 Canadians. Among the provinces, Quebec had the highest ratio of police officers to population (one officer for every 491 people), while Prince Edward Island (1:690) and Newfoundland (1:669) had the lowest.

Juristat, Vol.15, No.8, March 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 85-002.

Renovating



In 1993, the 6.7 million homeowners in Canada spent an average of \$1,846 on repairs and renovations, down 1.4% from 1992. Homeowners in the first year in their home spend the most. Those who moved in during 1993 spent an average of \$2,704 on repairs and renovations, with half going toward renovations.

Homeowner Repair and Renovation Expenditure in Canada, 1993,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 62-201.

Composting



In 1994, 23% of households used a compost heap, compost container, or composting service, compared with 17% in 1991. British Columbia households were most likely to compost in 1994 (38%), while Newfoundland households were the least likely (9%).

Households and The Environment, 1994,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-526.

The cultural tourist



In 1992, 25% of Canadians took in a play or concert during a trip to an overseas destination. In contrast, Canadians rarely included this type of entertainment when travelling within Canada (only 3% of overnight trips of 80 km or more).

When travelling in Prince Edward Island, however, one in ten Canadians attended plays and concerts. This is likely because of the attraction of such theatre presentations as "Anne of Green Gables."

Focus on Culture, Spring 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 87-004.

Visitors from abroad



In 1993, residents of the United States made 12 million trips of one or more nights to Canada. This represented 80% of all foreign travel to Canada that year. Residents of New York, Michigan, Washington and California accounted for 44% of these trips. The second and third largest number of trips to Canada were made by residents of the United Kingdom (562,000 trips) and Japan (409,000 trips).

Travel-log, Winter 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 87-003.

Broken hips



Hip fractures are a common cause of death and disability among Canada's aging population, and a major cause of hospital stays. In 1990, 974 deaths, 23,936 hospital admissions and 714,650 hospital days were associated with fractures of the femur among people aged 55 and over. Women aged 75 and over accounted for 63% of these hospital days.

Health Reports, Vol.6, No.3, February 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 82-003.

Sliding family incomes



In 1993, the average family income was \$52,112. After adjusting for inflation, this was 2.5% lower than the year before and 7% lower than the peak of \$56,033 enjoyed by families in 1989. The 1993 average income for two-parent families with children (\$58,006) was more than double that for female lone-parent families (\$22,621). People not in families had an average income of \$22,115 in 1993.

Family Incomes, Census Families, 1993,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-208.

Real average family incomes have been falling since 1989

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-208.

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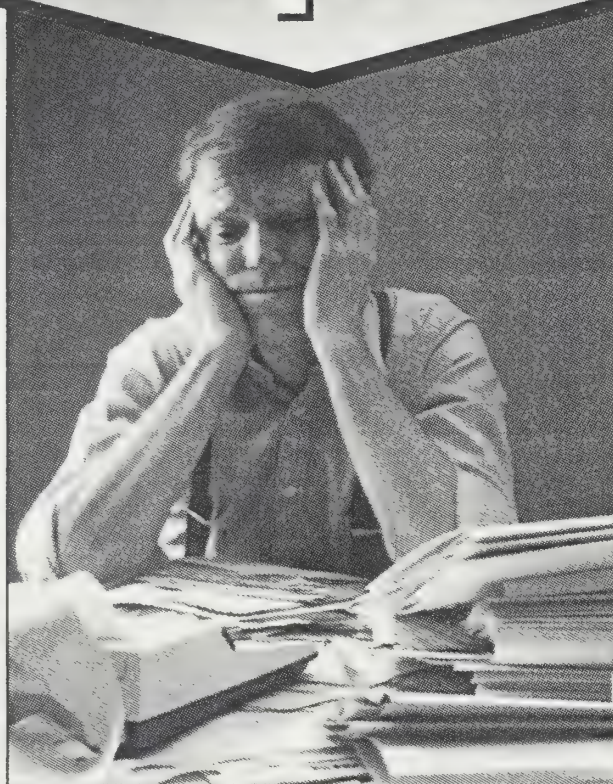
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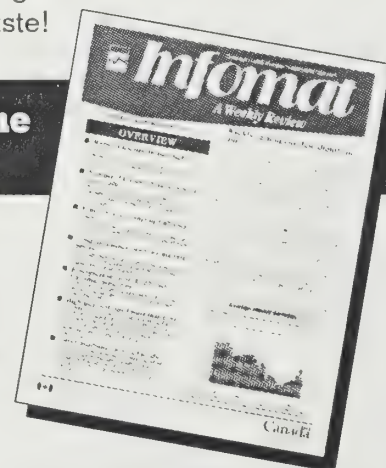
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SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,549.7	26,894.8	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1 ^{PD}	28,542.2 ^{PD}	28,940.6 ^{PR}	29,248.1 ^{PP}
Annual growth (%)	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.2 ^{PD}	1.5 ^{PD}	1.4 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PP}
Immigration ¹	130,813	152,413	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810 ^F	264,967 ^R	227,226 ^P
Emigration ¹	47,707	40,978	40,395	39,760	43,692 ^{IR}	45,633 ^{PD}	43,992 ^{PR}	44,807 ^{PP}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	13.4 ^P	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.0	7.0	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.6	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144	1,077
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383	12,644
– goods sector (000s)	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302	3,393
– service sector (000s)	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082	9,252
Total unemployment (000s)	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562	1,458
Unemployment rate (%)	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2	10.3
Part-time employment (%)	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3	17.1
Women's participation rate (%)	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5	57.2
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	34.9	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	47,069	*
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	12.8	12.0	10.9	12.0	12.9	13.3	14.5	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	72.0	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4	5,294.0	5,367.3	*
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4	930.5	949.3	*
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,237	*
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.8	6.3	6.4	6.2	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1	37.0	*
– women	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7	40.2	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.7	27.9	*
– women	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.3	26.9	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.2	6.7	6.8	6.7	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	856	898	948	1,013	1,056	1,081	1,079	*
– property	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841	6,141	5,890	5,562	*
– homicide	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.2	*
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1993 \$000,000)	175,423.6	179,817.8	187,892.3	196,762.4	205,481.1	211,778.7	211,432.6	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.1	56.1	56.0	56.8	58.5	59.6	59.6	*
– as a % of GDP	25.5	24.7	25.2	26.9	29.5	30.2	29.7	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5	3,086.2
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1	3,340.8
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0	3,100.2
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	-0.2	-1.8	+0.6	+2.2	+4.5
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8	0.2
Urban housing starts	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988	127,346
– Not available * Not yet available ^P Preliminary data ^E Estimate ^m Figures as of March ^{PD} Final postcensal estimates ^{PP} Preliminary postcensal estimates ^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates ¹ For year ending June 30. ^R Revised data ^F Final data								
² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

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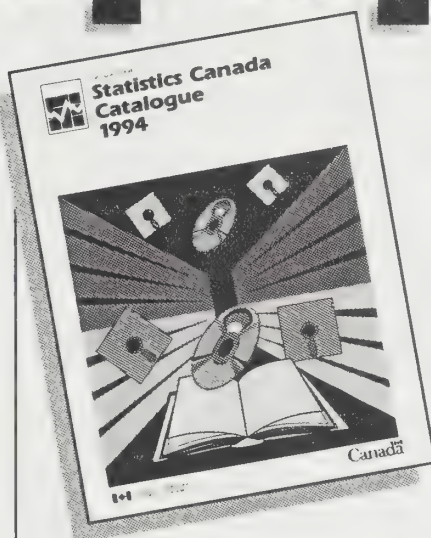
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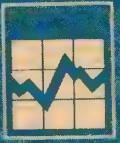


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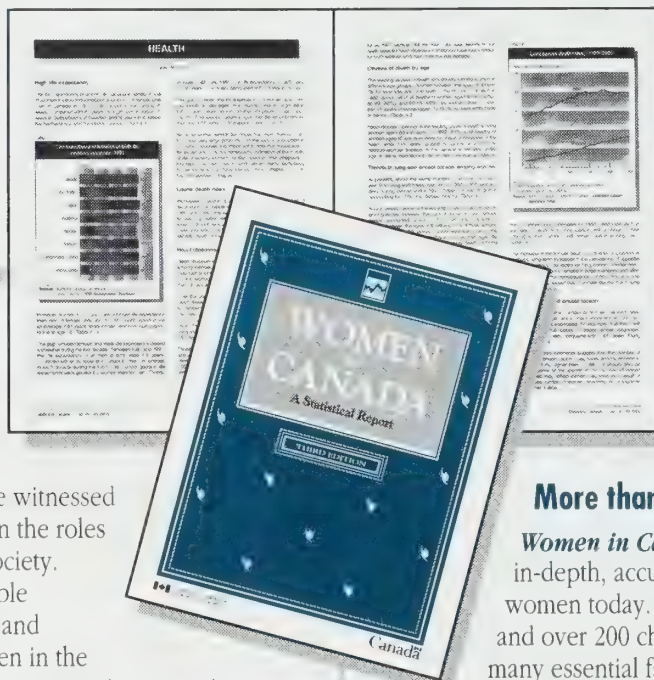
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contents

WINTER 1995

No.39

CHANGES IN CANCER INCIDENCE AND MORTALITY

by Jo-Anne Belliveau and Leslie Gaudette

2

TRENDS IN MORTALITY FROM SMOKING-RELATED CANCERS, 1950 TO 1991

by Paul J. Villeneuve and Howard I. Morrison

8

CANADIAN FERTILITY, 1951 TO 1993: FROM BOOM TO BUST TO STABILITY?

by Carl F. Grindstaff

12

EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN CANADA

by Josée Normand

17

THE CHINESE IN CANADA

by Rosalinda Costa and Viviane Renaud

22

EDUCATOR'S NOTEBOOK

27

CUMULATIVE INDEX OF ARTICLES – SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

28

SOCIAL INDICATORS

35

KEEPING TRACK

36



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CYNTHIA SILVER

Editors

JO-ANNE BELLIVEAU

JILLIAN ODERKIRK

JEFFREY FRANK

Production Co-ordinator

CHERYL SARAZIN

Marketing Co-ordinator

ALEX SOLIS

•

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ON OUR COVER:

Snowy Morning (c.1920) oil on canvas, 53.7 x 64.0 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

About the artist:

Born in 1864 in Douglas, Ontario, **Mary A. Eastlake** (nee Bell) spent her early childhood in Almonte (Ont.) and Carillon (Que.). A student of Robert

Harris of Montreal, she later took up her artistic studies in Paris where she also exhibited some of her paintings. In 1939, Mrs. Eastlake, with her husband, arrived in Canada taking up residence in Montreal for several years and then later on moved to Almonte. Mrs. Eastlake died in Ottawa in 1951.

changes in cancer incidence



and mortality

by Jo-Anne Belliveau and Leslie Gaudette

Cancer affects the lives of most Canadians through either their own illness, or the illness or death of a family member or friend. Today, well over one-third of Canadians are expected to develop this disease, up from about one-quarter in the early 1970s. In 1995 alone, an estimated 125,400 new cases of cancer will be diagnosed, and 61,500 people will die of this disease.

Throughout most of the century, cancer has been the second leading cause of death, after cardiovascular disease. In addition, the proportion of deaths due to cancer continues to increase. Today, about one-quarter of deaths are due to this disease, up from one-fifth at the beginning of the 1970s.

Cancer often develops as a result of factors over which an individual has no control, such as aging and genetic make-up. Lifestyle, however, can also affect a person's chances of developing this disease. In particular, smoking and diet are currently considered the predominant determinants of cancer.¹ Consequently, by changing lifestyles, Canadians may be able to prevent some types of cancer. In addition, improved medical procedures that permit cancers to be detected at an early stage, as well as improved technologies and drugs for treating the disease, can contribute to cancer control.

Incidence of cancer levelling off in recent years Although the incidence rate of all cancers combined² is much higher now than it was twenty-five years ago, the rate of new cases has levelled off since the mid-1980s.³ After standardizing for changes in the age distribution of the population over time,⁴ an estimated 465 of every 100,000 males will be diagnosed with cancer in 1995, up from 332 in 1969. For every 100,000 females, the

rate will rise to an estimated 335 in 1995 from 277 in 1969.

These increases are partly due to improved registration of new cancer cases and increased use of diagnostic methods that allow early detection of the disease. In addition, changes in risk factors have contributed to a real increase in cancer.

Cancer mortality rates rose slowly between the late 1960s and the mid-1980s and have been relatively stable since then. In 1995, an estimated 247 of every 100,000 males will die of cancer, up from 222 in 1969. Female mortality rates, on the other hand, have changed little over the past twenty-five years. For every 100,000 females, an estimated 155 will die of cancer in 1995. This figure has fluctuated between 145 and 155 since 1969.

Lung, prostate, breast and colorectal cancer most common An estimated 66,400 new cases of cancer will be diagnosed in males in 1995. Prostate cancer will account for the largest proportion of these cases (24%), followed by lung (19%) and colorectal (13%) cancer (cancer of the colon and rectum). Of the 59,000 new cases among females, breast cancer will be, by far, the most commonly diagnosed (30%), followed by colorectal (13%) and lung (12%) cancer.

These cancers are also estimated to be the most common causes of cancer death, with lung cancer responsible for the highest proportion among both men and women. Of the estimated 33,700 male cancer deaths in 1995, 33% will be due to lung cancer, 12% to prostate cancer and 10% to colorectal cancer. Among women, 21% of the estimated 27,800 cancer deaths will result from lung cancer. The proportion due to breast cancer, however, will be almost as high (19%). Colorectal cancer will be responsible for an estimated 10% of female cancer deaths in 1995.

Lung cancer rates improving among men, but not among women In 1995, an estimated 92 of every 100,000 males will be diagnosed with lung cancer, down slightly from a peak of 97 in 1984. Before 1984, however, male lung cancer had been increasing, rising from 58 new cases for every 100,000 males in 1969. In contrast to the recent decline in lung cancer among males, the female rate is expected to continue rising, reaching an estimated 42 new cases for every 100,000 females in 1995. This is up from 30 cases in 1984 and 10 in 1969.

Differences also persist in the trends for male and female lung cancer death rates. The male rate has levelled off since the mid-1980s, after climbing since the late

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

CST

What is cancer?

Cancer is the uncontrolled growth of abnormal cells in the body. The disease occurs when the abnormal cells overcome the body's defences that usually destroy such cells.

Normal cells multiply in a very regulated manner; the number of new cells formed in tissues equals the number lost by cell death or injury. Abnormal cells, however, continue to divide, not necessarily at a faster rate, but continuously. Thus, in cancer tissues, the number of new cells is greater than the number of cells lost, resulting in a tumour mass.

Cancer cells typically form a malignant tumour. In addition, some of the cancer cells may spread to other parts of the body through blood vessels or lymph channels. Often, secondary tumours are responsible for symptoms and death.

Sources: **Cancer Nursing: Principles and Practice**, Jones and Bartlett Publishers, Third Edition, 1993, and **Progress Against Cancer**, Ministry of Health, Ontario, 1994.

¹ A.B. Miller, "Planning Cancer Control Strategies," **Chronic Diseases in Canada**, Health Canada, 1992.

² Includes all invasive malignant neoplasms with the exception of non-melanoma skin cancer.

³ Cancer incidence data are estimated for 1991 to 1995, and mortality data are estimated for 1993 to 1995.

⁴ In recent decades, the proportion of seniors has increased, while that of children has decreased. Rates have been age standardized to the 1991 Canadian population to eliminate the effects of these changes, so that death rates from different years could be compared.

1960s. In 1995, an estimated 79 of every 100,000 males will die of lung cancer, up from 52 in 1969. In contrast, the female lung cancer death rate is still rising. An estimated 33 of every 100,000 females will die as a result of lung cancer in 1995,

four times the 1969 rate of 8 of every 100,000.

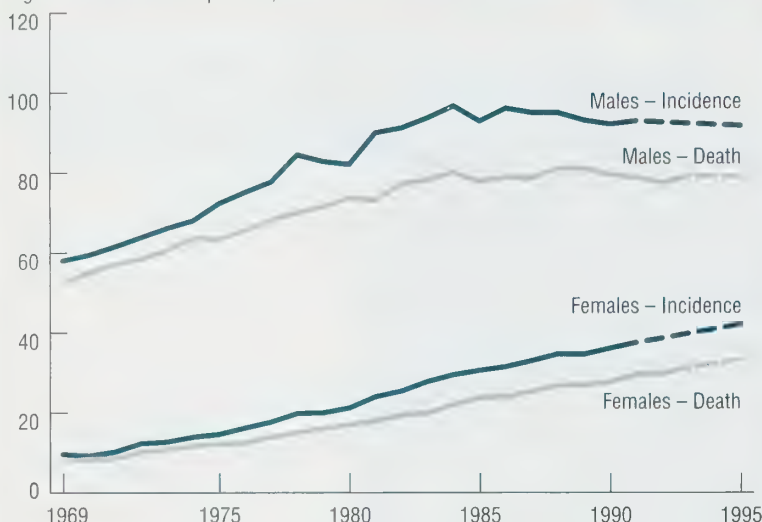
Lung cancer is one of the most preventable cancers, with almost 90% of deaths due to this type of cancer attributable to smoking.⁵ Factors contributing to the risk

of developing lung cancer include the length of time a person has smoked, the amount of tobacco consumed daily, and the tar and nicotine content of the cigarettes. In addition, second-hand smoke, often referred to as environmental tobacco smoke or ETS, appears to be related to lung cancer in non-smokers.

Lung cancer incidence and death rates, 1969-1995

CST

Age-standardized¹ rate per 100,000



--- Data estimated.

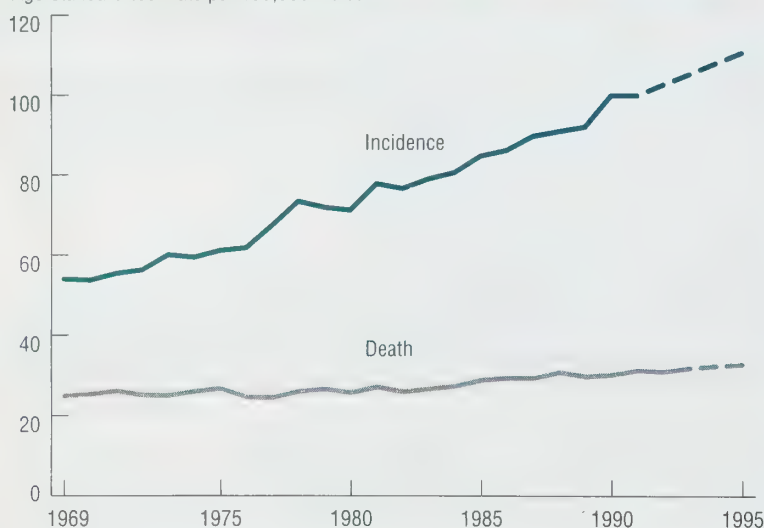
¹ Age standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division.

Prostate cancer incidence and death rates, 1969-1995

CST

Age-standardized¹ rate per 100,000 males



--- Data estimated.

¹ Age standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division.

Prostate cancer incidence and death rates increasing

Prostate cancer is the only leading male cancer that is still increasing. In 1990, for the first time, the incidence rate of prostate cancer surpassed that of lung cancer among men. For every 100,000 males, there will be an estimated 110 new cases of prostate cancer in 1995, double the rate in 1969 (54 for every 100,000). Much of this increase, however, is due to the increasingly widespread use of medical procedures, including blood tests, that enable the detection of early staged tumours.

Deaths due to prostate cancer are also becoming more prevalent, with most of the increase occurring since the early 1980s. In 1995, an estimated 33 of every 100,000 males will die of prostate cancer, up from 26 in 1980. Throughout the 1970s, prostate cancer was responsible for between 25 and 27 deaths for every 100,000 males.

Incidence of breast cancer increasing, but death rate stable

In 1995, an estimated 103 of every 100,000 females will be diagnosed with breast cancer, up from 78 in 1969. Although part of the increase may be related to early detection through breast self-examination, as well as increased mammography screening, the actual incidence of breast cancer is likely also rising. This may be due, in part, to changes in childbearing patterns. Women today are, on average, more likely than women in the past to have their first child at a later age, and to have fewer children or no children at all. These factors are believed to increase the risk of developing breast cancer. Nonetheless, to date, most of the rise in breast cancer incidence has occurred among women aged 60 and over.

Although the incidence of breast cancer has risen, the rate of death due to this type of cancer has been stable since the late 1960s. In 1995, an estimated 31 of every 100,000 females will die of this disease.

Colorectal cancer incidence and death rates declining in recent years

The incidence of male colorectal cancer is estimated to be slightly lower in 1995 (62 new cases for every 100,000 males) than it was at its peak in 1985 (66 for every 100,000). It is still much more common, however, than in 1969 when 50 of every 100,000 males were diagnosed with this type of cancer. The trend was similar among females, although the rate has declined much faster since the mid-1980s. For every 100,000 females, the number of new cases of colorectal cancer rose from 43 in 1969 to 50 in 1985, before declining to an estimated 41 in 1995.

Colorectal cancer death rates among both men and women are lower now than in the late 1960s. The male rate, however, declined more slowly than the female rate. An estimated 25 of every 100,000 males will die of colorectal cancer in 1995, down from 31 in 1969. Among females, the rate is expected to drop to an estimated 15 deaths for every 100,000 females in 1995, from 25 deaths in 1969.

Changes in the diet of Canadians may have contributed to the decline in colorectal cancer. For example, evidence currently links large bowel cancer with the consumption of saturated fat and red meat. The consumption of dietary fibre, as well as fruits and vegetables, many of which contain vitamins A, C and E, appears to have a protective effect against colorectal cancer. The specific foods and compounds responsible for such an effect, however, have not been positively identified. Declines in mortality due to colorectal cancer may also result from more widespread use of methods for early detection that often allow more effective treatment of the disease, particularly among elderly people.

Incidence of melanoma has increased sharply

Melanoma, a type of skin cancer, is expected to account for a small proportion of estimated cancer cases diagnosed in 1995 (2%), and an even smaller share of deaths (1%). Nonetheless, over the past two decades, the incidence of this type of cancer has increased

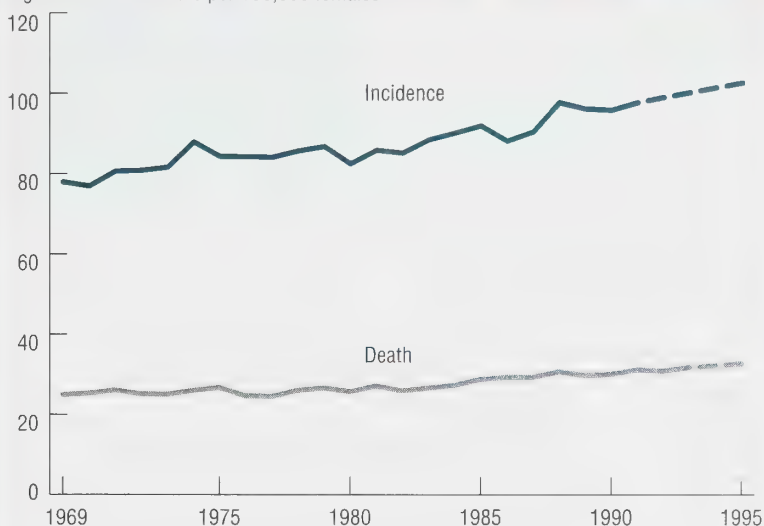
sharply among both men and women. The number of new cases for every 100,000 males was estimated to be four times higher in 1995 (12) than in 1969 (3). For every 100,000 females, the rate almost doubled to 9 from 5 over the same period.

Although the major risk factor for melanoma is exposure to ultraviolet rays (UVRs) from the sun or from tanning machines, the exact nature of the relationship remains uncertain. Light-haired, light-skinned people, and those who burn

Breast cancer incidence and death rates, 1969-1995

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Age-standardized¹ rate per 100,000 females



--- Data estimated.

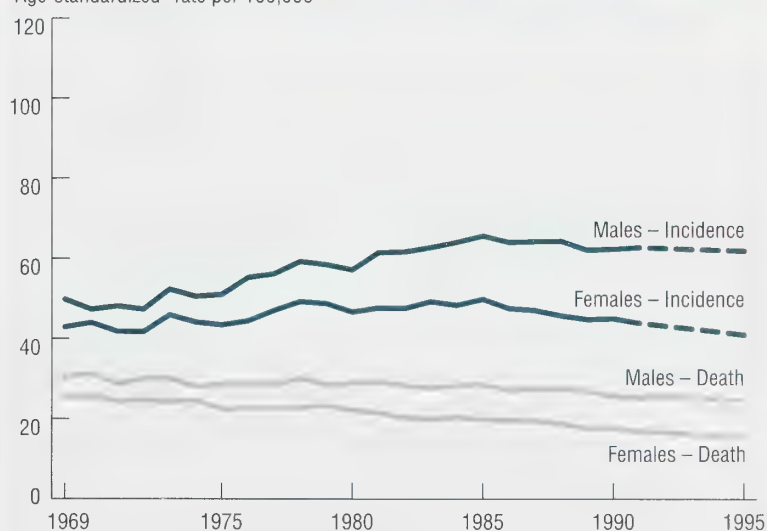
¹ Age standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division.

Colorectal cancer incidence and death rates, 1969-1995

CST

Age-standardized¹ rate per 100,000



--- Data estimated.

¹ Age standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division.

⁵ For a more detailed discussion on smoking-related cancer mortality, see "Trends in mortality from smoking-related cancers, 1950 to 1991" in this issue of **Canadian Social Trends**.

Estimates of potential effects of prevention or early detection on cancer incidence

According to research for the Cancer and Palliative Care Unit of the World Health Organization,¹ a portion of cancer cases in Canada are potentially preventable, given current knowledge of risk factors. Lifestyle choices, such as smoking and diet, in particular, have been identified as the predominant determinants of human cancer.

The percentage of cancer cases that are potentially preventable was derived by comparing age-standardized cancer rates in Canada to those of countries where populations were largely Caucasian, and where cancer rates for different sites were lowest. It provides an indication of the effect that would be achievable if Canadians were to have the same lifestyle as people in the countries compared.

Cancer site	Action	Percentage of cancer incidence potentially preventable
Lung	Eliminate smoking	60%
	Reduce occupational exposure to carcinogens	
Prostate	Reduce fat consumption	78%
Breast	Reduce fat and increase vegetable consumption	70%
	Reduce obesity (postmenopausal women)	
	Screen women aged 50 to 69	
Colorectal	Reduce fat and increase vegetable consumption	77%
Lymphoma	Reduce exposure to herbicides and pesticides	86%
Bladder	Eliminate smoking and reduce dietary cholesterol	73%
	Reduce occupational exposure to carcinogens	
Body of the uterus	Reduce obesity	82%
	Benefit from the protective effect of oral contraceptives (women aged 20 to 54)	
Stomach	Reduce nitrite in cured meats and salt-preserved foods, and increase fruit and vegetable consumption	52%
Leukemia	Reduce exposure to radiation and benzene	70%
Oral	Eliminate smoking and reduce alcohol consumption	68%
	Increase fruit and vegetable consumption	
Pancreas	Eliminate smoking	64%
	Reduce sugar and increase vegetable consumption	
Melanoma of the skin	Reduce unprotected exposure to sunlight	77%
Kidney	Eliminate smoking	67%
	Reduce fat consumption	
Brain	Reduce occupational exposure to carcinogens	70%
Ovary	Reduce fat consumption	53%
	Benefit from the protective effect of oral contraceptives (women aged 20 to 54)	
Cervix	Eliminate smoking	62%
	Encourage use of barrier contraceptives	
	Screen women aged 20 to 69	

¹ A.B. Miller, "Planning Cancer Control Strategies," *Chronic Diseases in Canada*, Health Canada, 1992.

and do not tan after sun exposure appear to be the most prone to developing melanoma from overexposure to UVRs. In recent years, concerns about the thinning of the ozone layer, which provides some protection against UVRs, have led to public awareness campaigns about the effects of overexposure to the sun.

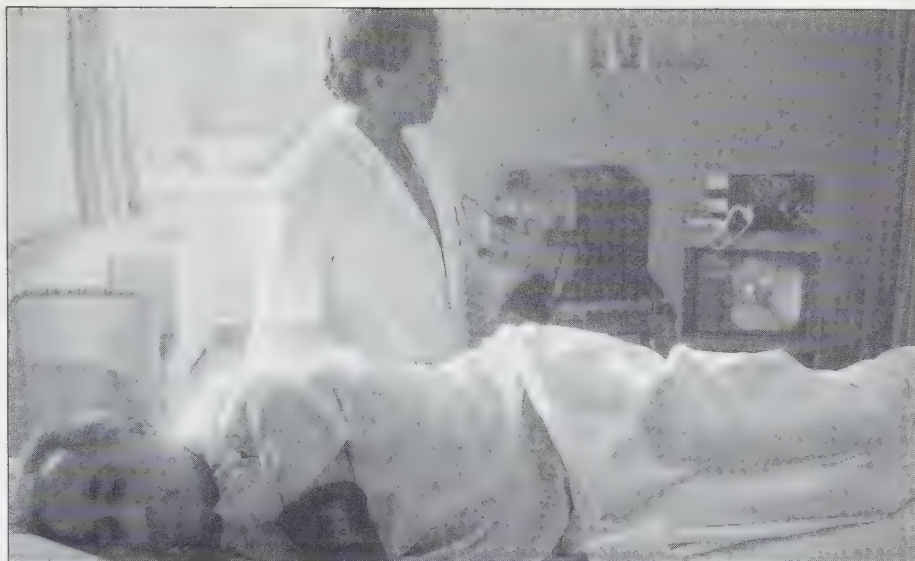
Stomach cancer and cervical cancer have declined dramatically

Despite increases in some cancers, many others have become less common in recent decades. Today, for example, the incidence and mortality rates of stomach cancer among both men and women are much lower than they were in the late 1960s. In 1995, for every 100,000 males, there will be an estimated 14 new cases of stomach cancer, and 9 deaths due to this disease. These rates are down from 24 cases and 24 deaths for every 100,000 males in 1969. For every 100,000 females, there will be an estimated 6 new cases and 4 deaths due to stomach cancer in 1995, down from 11 cases and 11 deaths in 1969. Declines may be partly attributable to dietary changes, such as a reduction in the consumption of cured meats and salt-preserved food, and an increase in fruit and vegetable consumption.

Cervical cancer rates dropped even faster than the rates of stomach cancer. An estimated 8 of every 100,000 females will be diagnosed with cervical cancer in 1995, down from 22 in 1969. Similarly, the mortality rate for cervical cancer dropped to 2 from 7 for every 100,000 females.

Part of the decline in cervical cancer is attributable to the detection of precancerous cells through cervical cytology screening such as Pap smears. If such cells are detected, regular monitoring is recommended so that a patient can be treated before cancer develops (often within three years). Routine cervical cancer re-screening may therefore contribute to a continued decline in this type of cancer.

Cervical cancer is likely strongly related to sexually transmitted viruses.⁶ Women with a history of multiple sexual partners have the greatest exposure to such viruses. Also, those whose first sexual intercourse occurred at a young age



have a higher risk of developing cervical cancer than other women. Women can lower their risk of developing this type of cancer, however, by using barrier contraceptives, such as condoms or spermicidal foams.

Most Canadians develop or die from cancer at older ages

In 1995, an estimated 72% of new cancer cases will occur among Canadians aged 60 and over. Although men overall are more likely than women to develop cancer, women are more likely than men to develop the disease at a younger age. Just over three-quarters (77%) of male cancer cases in 1995 are expected to be diagnosed among men aged 60 and over. In contrast, an estimated two-thirds (67%) of new female cancer cases will be diagnosed among women that age.

One of the main reasons for a higher incidence of cancer among younger women than among younger men is that many women develop breast cancer or cancer of the reproductive organs before age 60. In 1995, for example, an estimated 41% of new cases of breast cancer will occur among women aged 30 to 59. In contrast, only 6% of all new cases of prostate cancer will occur among men that young.

Cancer deaths also tend to be relatively uncommon among young Canadians. In 1995, an estimated 20% of cancer deaths will occur among people under age 60. Although women are much more likely than men to develop cancer at a young age, they are only somewhat more likely to die of this disease before reaching age 60. It is expected that 22% of female

cancer deaths in 1995 will occur among people under age 60, compared with 18% of male cancer deaths. This is largely because the most commonly diagnosed cancer among women, breast cancer, as well as cancers of the female reproductive organs, can often be controlled with medical treatment.

Prognosis good for breast and prostate cancer, but poor for lung cancer

Some types of cancer, particularly if they are diagnosed in the early stages of the disease, can be controlled. The potential prognosis for different sites can be estimated by expressing the number of cancer deaths as a percentage of new cancer cases. Two of the leading types of cancer, breast and prostate, have a very good prognosis, as does melanoma and cancer of the bladder, oral sites, uterus and cervix. For these cancer sites, estimated deaths will represent 33% or less of all new cases in 1995.

In contrast, the prognosis for lung cancer, as well as cancer of the stomach, pancreas and brain, is poor (deaths will represent more than 66% of new cases). Colorectal cancer has a fair prognosis, as does kidney and ovarian cancer, and lymphoma and leukemia. The prognosis for different types of cancer is similar for men and women.

Some cancers are largely preventable

Some cancers have become less common in recent years and modest improvements have occurred in the survival rates of several cancers. For some types, early detection through screening has

contributed to reduced mortality. For others, increasingly sophisticated medical treatments have improved the odds of survival.

Many forms of cancer are largely preventable because they are closely related to lifestyle. For example, tobacco use is responsible for an estimated 30% of cancer deaths.⁵ A person's risk of developing lung cancer, however, can begin to decline within one year of quitting smoking.⁶ The relationship between diet and cancer is more complex than that between smoking and cancer. Still, it has been estimated that a diet high in animal fats and low in fruits and vegetables may be a contributing factor to between 20% and 70% of cancer deaths.⁶ Other lifestyle factors such as lack of regular exercise, also may be related to cancer, although the extent of the relationship remains unclear.

Caring for cancer patients, already a major health concern, will likely become an even more challenging issue as the population ages. Even in the past twenty-five years, the number of newly diagnosed cases has more than doubled to an estimated 125,400 in 1995, from 49,200 in 1969. Rising costs for treatment, as well as those associated with rehabilitation, pain relief and palliative care, could place additional burdens on the health-care system. Efforts to reduce the incidence of cancer through prevention may therefore become increasingly important. As the risk factors associated with cancer become more widely understood, and as Canadians become more aware of these risks, individuals will be in a better position to adapt their lifestyle to help prevent this disease.

⁶ B. Gartmel, L.J. Loescher and P. Villar-Werstler, "Professional and Consumer Concerns About the Environment, Lifestyle, and Cancer," *Seminars in Oncology Nursing*, Vol. 8, No. 1, February 1992.

- For additional information on cancer trends, see **Canadian Cancer Statistics**, available from the Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

Jo-Anne Belliveau is an Editor with **Canadian Social Trends** and **Leslie Gaudette** is an analyst with the Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CST

trends in mortality from smoking- related cancers, 1950 to 1991



by Paul J. Villeneuve and Howard I. Morrison

Cigarette smoking is widely recognized as the leading preventable cause of death in Canada. An estimated 20% of all deaths and about 30% of cancer deaths are directly attributable to tobacco use.¹ Deaths from cancers largely due to tobacco use have also become more common. Since the 1950s, the proportion of all cancer deaths that resulted from smoking-related cancers has risen, while the proportion due to all non-smoking-related cancers combined has declined. Today, the most common cause of cancer death is lung cancer. Nearly 90% of lung cancer deaths are due to smoking.² Despite the link between tobacco use and increased risk of developing cancer, many Canadians continue to smoke on a regular basis.

Smoking-related cancers up In this article, smoking-related cancers are defined as those at least 70% attributable to smoking or other forms of tobacco use. This includes cancer of the lung, oral cavity, pharynx, esophagus and larynx. Since the 1950s, death rates for these types of cancers have been rising. Standardizing for differences in the age structure of the population over time,³ there were 75 deaths from smoking-related cancers for every 100,000 males in the early 1990s, up from 28 deaths in the early 1950s.⁴ Among females, the increase in the death rate has been even faster. For every 100,000 females, the number of deaths from smoking-related cancers grew to 26 in the early 1990s from 7 in the early 1950s.

In contrast, from 1950 to 1991, the rate of death from other cancers has been relatively stable for men and has declined substantially for women. For every 100,000 males, there were between 110 and 117 deaths from non-smoking-related cancers each year from the early 1950s to the early 1990s. For every 100,000 women, the death rate from non-smoking-related cancers dropped to 94 from 121.

Dramatic increase in lung cancer death rate The overall increase in smoking-related cancer deaths since the middle of the century has been almost completely due to a sharp rise in lung cancer mortality rates. Standardizing for age differences, lung cancer accounted for 84% of male deaths from smoking-related cancers in the early 1990s, up from 62% in the early 1950s. Similarly, among females, the proportion rose to 88% from 54% over the same period.

The lung cancer death rate has climbed much faster among females than males. Between 1950 and 1991, the annual increase in lung cancer death rates averaged 5.4% for females and 3.6% for males. In addition, since the mid-1980s, the male lung cancer death rate has levelled off, while the female rate has continued to rise.

The average lag time between starting to smoke and developing lung cancer is over twenty years.⁵ As a result, current lung cancer death rates reflect the smoking patterns of Canadians in the past. Since the late 1960s, the proportion of men who were regular smokers has declined considerably. It was not until

the late 1980s, however, that the annual lung cancer death rate for men began to level off. On the other hand, the proportion of women who were regular smokers peaked in the early 1970s, and has declined relatively slowly since then.⁶

¹ N.E. Collishaw and K. Leahy, "Mortality attributable to tobacco use in Canada, 1989," *Chronic Diseases in Canada*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1991.

² U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, **Reducing the health consequences of smoking: 25 years of progress. A report of the Surgeon General**, Public Health Service, Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Office on Smoking and Health, 1989.

³ Since the 1950s, the proportion of seniors in the population has increased and the proportion of children has fallen. The data in this article were age standardized to the 1971 Canadian population to eliminate the effects of these changes, so that death rates from different years could be compared.

⁴ Throughout this article, figures for the early 1990s represent the rate for 1990 and 1991, those for the early 1980s represent the rate from 1980 to 1984, and those for the early 1950s represent the rate from 1950 to 1954.

⁵ C.C. Brown and L.G. Kessler, "Projections of Lung Cancer Mortality in the United States: 1985-2025," *Journal of the National Cancer Institute*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1988.

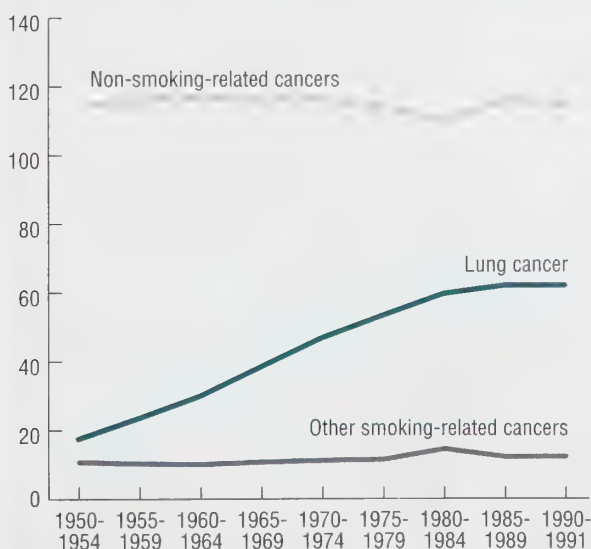
⁶ P. Villeneuve, Y. Mao and H. Morrison, **The benefits of smoking cessation on the mortality of middle-aged Canadians**, Bureau of Chronic Disease Epidemiology, Health Canada, 1993.

Lung cancer death rate higher now than in the 1950s

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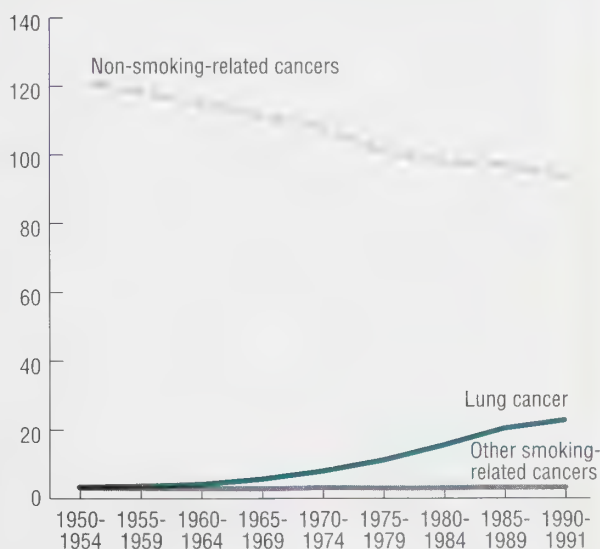
Males

Age-standardized¹ death rate per 100,000



Females

Age-standardized¹ death rate per 100,000



¹ Age standardized to the 1971 Canadian population.

Source: Health Canada, *Chronic Diseases in Canada*, "Trends in Mortality of Selected Smoking-related Cancers, Canada, 1950-1991," Vol. 15, No. 4, Autumn 1994.

As a result, the lung cancer death rate for women continues to rise.

Lung cancer mortality highest and growing fastest among seniors By the early 1990s, there were almost 500 deaths

from lung cancer for every 100,000 senior men aged 65 and over. This was five times greater than in the early 1950s, when 100 of every 100,000 senior men died of lung cancer. Similarly, among senior women, the death rate from lung

cancer in the early 1990s (153 per 100,000) was six times higher than the rate in the early 1950s (25 per 100,000).

In recent years, the lung cancer mortality rate among men aged 45 to 64 has declined slightly. For every 100,000 men that age, the number of lung cancer deaths dropped to 117 in the early 1990s, from 121 during the 1980s. Before then, there had been a steady increase in lung cancer mortality. In the early 1950s, the lung cancer death rate was 48 for every 100,000 men aged 45 to 64. Among women aged 45 to 64, the lung cancer death rate rose throughout the whole period. In the early 1990s, there were 54 deaths for every 100,000 women aged 45 to 64, up from 41 in the early 1980s, and 7 in the early 1950s.

Lung cancer is rare before age 45. From 1950 to 1991, lung cancer death rates for men and women aged 25 to 44 ranged from 1 to 5 for every 100,000 people each year. Given that it takes twenty or more years to develop lung cancer, the low death rates in this age group are not surprising.

Death rates of other smoking-related cancers relatively stable Mortality rates for cancers of the esophagus, oral cavity and pharynx, and larynx are low compared to those of lung cancer, and have changed little since the 1950s. As with lung cancer, the mortality rates of these cancers are higher among men than among women. For every 100,000 males in the early 1990s, 4.8 died of esophagus cancer, 4.7 of oral cavity and pharynx cancer, and 2.8 of larynx cancer each year. For every 100,000 females, an average of 1.4 deaths were due to esophagus cancer and to oral cavity and pharynx cancer, while 0.5 were due to larynx cancer.

The reasons for such little change in mortality rates among these cancers are unclear. Oral cancer is more strongly associated with smoking pipes or cigars, and with snuff or chewing tobacco use, than with cigarette smoking.⁷ Different trends in the use of various tobacco products, as well as different patterns in survival, may partly explain why lung cancer death rates have climbed, while

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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Tobacco consumption and lung cancer mortality have followed similar trends

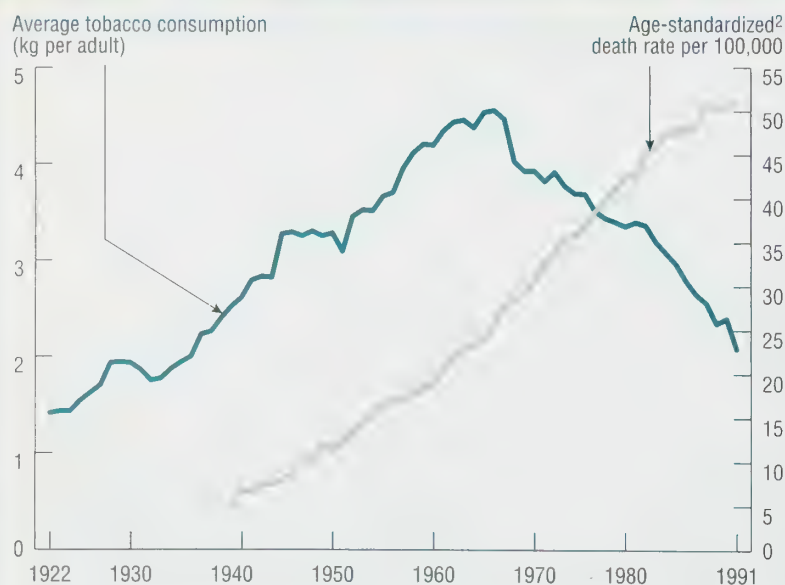
From early in the century until the mid-1960s, smoking had become increasingly prevalent among Canadians. In the early 1920s, adults aged 15 and over each consumed an average of 1.4 kg of tobacco annually. By the mid-1960s, this had risen to an average of 4.5 kg. Since then, however, smoking has become less common, and, by 1991, average annual tobacco consumption had dropped to 2.1 kg per adult.

The average lag time between starting to smoke and developing lung cancer is over twenty years.¹ Consequently, the trend in lung cancer mortality is a reflection of the smoking habits of people at least twenty years earlier. The age-standardized lung cancer death rate rose sharply between 1940 (5 deaths for every 100,000 people) and 1988 (51 deaths for every 100,000 people), and has since remained relatively stable. This trend parallels the tobacco consumption patterns of about twenty years earlier.

¹ C.C. Brown and L.G. Kessler, "Projections of Lung Cancer Mortality in the United States: 1985-2025," *Journal of the National Cancer Institute*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1988.

Trends in tobacco consumption¹ and lung cancer death rate

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¹ Excludes chewing tobacco and snuff.

² Age standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

Source: Health Canada, Bureau of Chronic Disease Epidemiology.

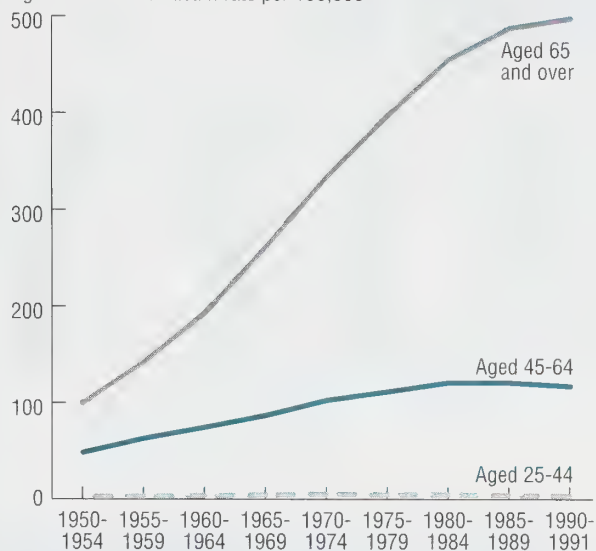
⁷ "Cancer Epidemiology and Prevention," *Scientific American Medicine*, Chapter 12, Section I, March 1994.

Lung cancer death rate increased most among seniors

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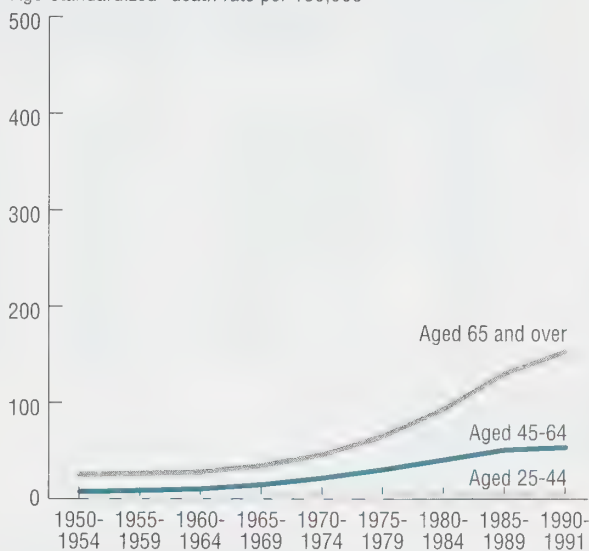
Males

Age-standardized¹ death rate per 100,000



Females

Age-standardized¹ death rate per 100,000



¹ Age standardized to the 1971 Canadian population.

Source: Health Canada, **Chronic Diseases in Canada**, "Trends in Mortality of Selected Smoking-related Cancers, Canada, 1950-1991," Vol. 15, No. 4, Autumn 1994.

those of other smoking-related cancers have not. Cancers of the esophagus, oral cavity and pharynx, however, are associated not only with tobacco use, but also with alcohol consumption. The separate effects of tobacco and alcohol use are difficult to assess because heavy drinkers are often heavy smokers.

Prevention of smoking is key to reducing cancer mortality Cancers caused by tobacco use are the primary reason why overall cancer mortality has increased since the 1950s. If smoking-related cancer deaths were excluded from the total number of cancer deaths, the female mortality rate would have declined from 1950 to 1991, while the male rate would have remained unchanged. Despite the health risks associated with tobacco use, smoking rates remain high and have recently increased among teenagers.

Governments, and private and non-profit organizations have taken measures to promote the elimination of smoking. In most jurisdictions, smoking in workplaces and public places is prohibited. Controls on the advertising of tobacco

products and regulations requiring health warnings on cigarette packaging have been implemented. Also, aggressive anti-smoking education programs in schools and anti-smoking advertising campaigns have been introduced.

The affordability of cigarettes is one of the many factors which influences the prevalence of smoking, particularly among young smokers. The recent lowering of cigarette taxes by the federal government and the reduction of planned funding for its anti-smoking campaign have been controversial measures, and their ultimate effects are difficult to predict. Nonetheless, preventing new generations of smokers and encouraging current smokers to quit remain the most effective tools for reducing future cancer mortality rates.

- This article was adapted from "Trends in Mortality of Selected Smoking-related Cancers, Canada, 1950-1991" by Paul J. Villeneuve, Howard I. Morrison and Jey Elaguppillai, published in **Chronic Diseases in Canada**, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 123-128, Autumn 1994, Health Canada.

Paul J. Villeneuve is an analyst and **Howard I. Morrison** is an epidemiologist with the Cancer Division, Bureau of Chronic Disease Epidemiology, Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, Health Canada.

CST

F | Canadian FERTILITY

1951 to 1993



from **BOOM** to **BUST** to **STABILITY?**

by Carl F. Grindstaff

Since before Confederation and continuing to the present time, Canada has been undergoing a demographic transition from a population with high birth and death rates to one with low birth and death rates. There are many reasons why this transition is occurring. With industrialization and urbanization came a separation of home and workplace, and an increasing demand for more technically skilled or educated workers. These changes resulted in a movement toward compulsory education programs for children and decreased involvement of children in family labour or paid work. Also accompanying industrialization were advancements in medicine, sanitation and personal hygiene practices, which together virtually eliminated many infectious diseases previously responsible for the majority of premature deaths among children and adults. With a reduced chance of early childhood death and a change from children as income earners to dependents, parents' desire for large families decreased. At the same time, advancements in contraceptive methods, particularly the introduction of oral contraceptives in the 1960s, facilitated the planning of smaller families.

As the twenty-first century approaches, Canadian society also appears to be undergoing a transition, similar to that in Europe, from an adherence to tradition and traditional institutions to an emphasis on individualism, secularism and personal development.¹ Social changes in the past thirty years provide evidence of this transition. These changes include rising educational attainment among men and women; greater and more diverse participation of women in the labour force (including women with preschool children); rising age at marriage; relatively high levels of marriage dissolution due to divorce; rising levels of lone-parent families; high levels of dual-income, husband-wife families; and cohabitation as a prevalent form of partnership.

Accompanying these transitions has been an overall decline in women's fertility, and an increasing trend toward the postponement of childbearing. During the last half of the twentieth century, there

was an initial increase in women's fertility, during the baby boom, followed by a rapid and substantial decline in fertility and then a fairly long period of relative stability, with fertility rates at historically low levels. During this period of low fertility rates, the age at which women were having children also increased, with most women delaying childbirth to their late twenties and thirties.

Fertility rates have been low and stable since the mid-1970s

During the height of the baby boom, the number of children born in Canada each year increased by over 25%, rising to 479,300 in 1959 from 381,100 in 1951. From that point until the early 1970s, however, the number of children born annually decreased, falling to 343,400 in 1973. Thereafter, the number of births increased slowly to 405,500 in 1990 before falling again to 388,400 in 1993.

Although the number of children born annually increased during the 1970s and 1980s, this growth was due to an increasing population of women of childbearing age and not to higher fertility among women. From 1959 to 1987, the average number of children born per woman of childbearing age (the total fertility rate) declined by nearly 60% from 3.94 to 1.58. Since then, the rate rose to 1.71 in 1990 and then declined to 1.66 in 1993. At no

time since the early 1970s, however, has the rate equalled or exceeded 2. At 2 births per woman, each parent has a replacement in the next generation. With fertility rates below 2, the population cannot be maintained through the birth of children alone. In general, the number of births and the birth rate have been stable for the past generation, but the timing of births across age groups has changed.

Births to women aged 30 to 34 becoming more common

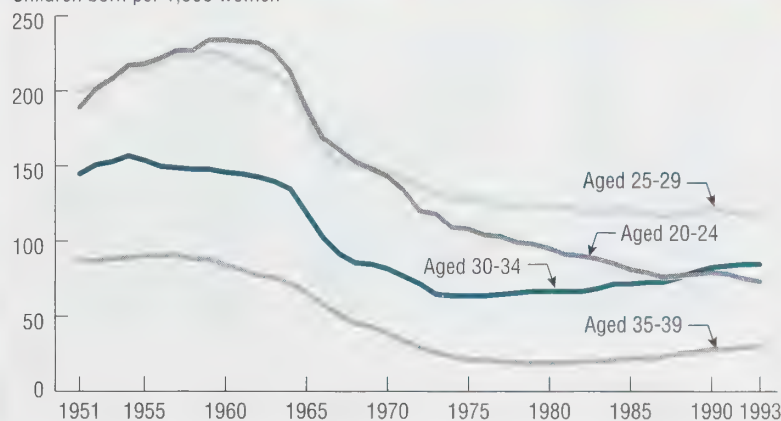
Canadian women are more likely today than they were thirty years ago to give birth to their first child toward the end of their reproductive lives. Since the late 1970s, in particular, the fertility rate of women in their early twenties has fallen, while that of women in their thirties has risen.

During the 1960s, the number of births for every 1,000 women was highest for women aged 20 to 29, with more children born to women aged 20 to 24 than to those aged 25 to 29. By 1971, fertility rates had fallen among women of all ages, but were slightly higher for women aged 25 to 29 than for those aged 20 to 24. This trend toward motherhood at older ages continued and by the late 1970s, the fertility rate of women aged 20 to 24 was less than half of that in the early 1960s. Also, for the first time since

Fertility of women in their early 30s now exceeds that of women in their early 20s

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Children born per 1,000 women

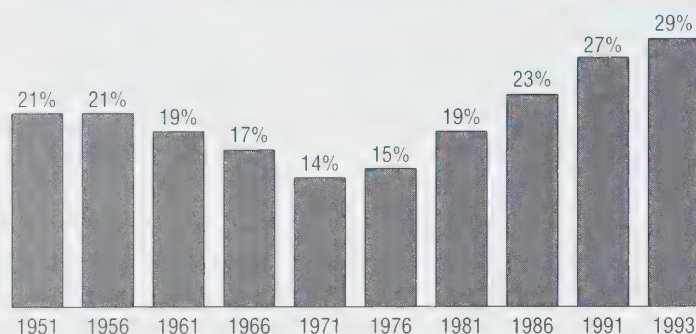


Note: Data for 1951 to 1990 exclude Newfoundland.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 82-553 and 84-210.

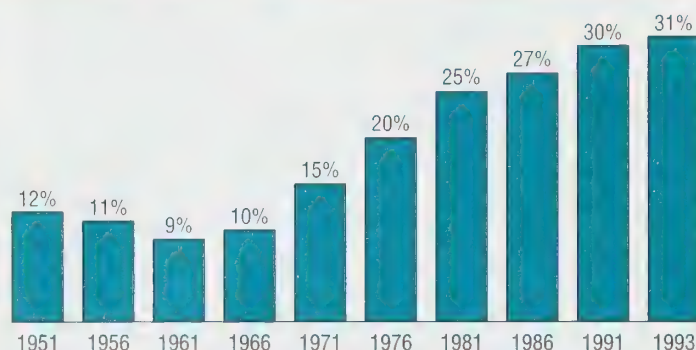
¹ D.J. van de Kaa, "Europe's Second Demographic Transition," *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 1987.

Proportion of all births that were to women aged 30-34

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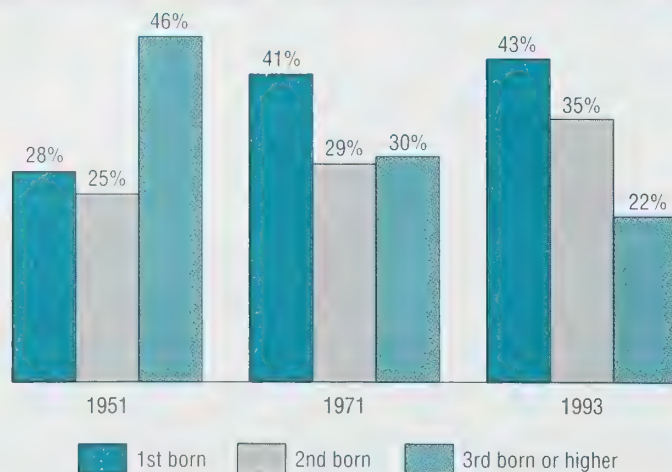
Proportion of all births that to women aged 30-34 that were first-born children



Note: Data for 1951 to 1981 exclude Newfoundland.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 82-553 and 84-210.

43% of children born in 1993 were their mother's first child

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Note: Data for 1951 and 1971 exclude Newfoundland.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 82-553 and 84-210.

the 1950s, the level of fertility was not falling among women aged 30 to 34.

Since then, fertility rates have continued to decline among women in their twenties, but have increased among women in their thirties. By 1989, women aged 30 to 34 had higher fertility rates than did those aged 20 to 24, although women aged 25 to 29 had the highest rates of fertility.

As a result of these changes in fertility rates, the proportion of all births that were to young women has fallen. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the proportion of all births that were to women aged 20 to 24 declined, falling to less than 20% in 1993 from 36% in 1971. In contrast, the proportion of all births that were to women aged 30 to 34 doubled, rising to 29% in 1993 from 14% in 1971.

Women aged 30 and over more likely today to be having their first child

Forty years ago, births among women aged 30 and over were common, but most occurred because women had large families and, at that age, were having at least their third child. Today, many women aged 30 to 34 who give birth are doing so for the first time.

During the 1950s and 1960s, about one child in ten born to women aged 30 to 34 was a first-born child. By the 1990s, this ratio was almost one in three. Correspondingly, from 1956 to 1966, about half of all children born to women aged 30 to 34 entered a household where there were already three or more children. By the late 1980s, this happened about once in ten families.

This trend toward having a first child later in life is also present among women aged 40 to 44, although very few children are born to women this age (1% of all births). In the 1950s and 1960s, about 5% of children born to women aged 40 to 44 were first-born children and over 75% were a fourth child or higher. By the 1990s, however, just over one-half of all children born to women that age were a first or second child.

Women are having fewer children and childlessness is becoming more common

The proportion of all children born that were a first or second child has increased dramatically over the past forty years, while births of a seventh child or higher have virtually disappeared. Of all

Fertility trends differ in Canada's three largest provinces

Fertility patterns in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia have differed over the past forty years, with greater swings in fertility occurring in Quebec. During the 1950s, the fertility rate of Quebec women was higher than that of women in British Columbia and Ontario. In the 1960s, however, that pattern reversed and the fertility rate in Quebec fell below that of the other two provinces. By the mid-1970s, the fertility rate in Quebec approached that of the other two provinces, but then dropped again in the 1980s. By the early 1990s, fertility rates in all three provinces converged to similar levels.

The total fertility rate in 1993 was 1.61 children per woman of childbearing age in Quebec and British Columbia, and 1.64 children per woman that age in Ontario. All of these fertility rates were well below 2, the level at which parents from this generation replace themselves with children for the next. Although fertility rates were low, rates in Quebec were higher in the early 1990s than they had been at any time since the 1970s. In Ontario and British Columbia, rates had been fairly constant since the mid-1970s.

In 1951, Quebec had the highest number of births of any province in Canada, and the total number of children born in Quebec that year accounted for nearly one-third of all births. During the next forty years, however, with higher fertility in the rest of Canada, the proportion of all births that occurred in Quebec declined steadily. By the mid-1980s, the proportion of all births that were in Quebec reached a low of under 23%. At that time, the fertility rate of women in Quebec, at 1.4 children per woman of childbearing age, was one of the lowest rates anywhere in the world.

In 1987, the Quebec government developed a policy statement to encourage an increase in the number of children born, and subsequent budgets provided birth allowances with a maximum of \$500 for a first child, \$1,000 for a second child and \$8,000 for all further children.¹ From 1987 to the early 1990s, the fertility rate in Quebec increased, rising to 1.65 children per woman of childbearing age in 1991 and 1992. By 1993, however, the fertility rate had fallen to 1.61.

Historically, young women in Quebec have had lower birth rates than young women in Ontario and British Columbia. In 1951, for example, there were 176 births for every 1,000 women aged 20 to 24 in Quebec, compared with 186 births in Ontario and 193 births in British Columbia. In the early 1990s, however, the fertility of young Quebec women grew to exceed that of young women in the other two provinces. At its peak in 1990, there were 80 births for every 1,000 women aged 20 to 24 in Quebec, compared with 68 births in Ontario and 78 births in British Columbia. The increase in births to women this age in Quebec seems to parallel the introduction of the new system of Quebec birth allowances. From 1985 to 1988, there were between 69 and 72 births for every 1,000

Quebec women aged 20 to 24. The rate then rose to 76 per 1,000 in 1989 and to 80 per 1,000 in 1990 and 1991. By 1993, however, the rate had fallen to 75 per 1,000 women.

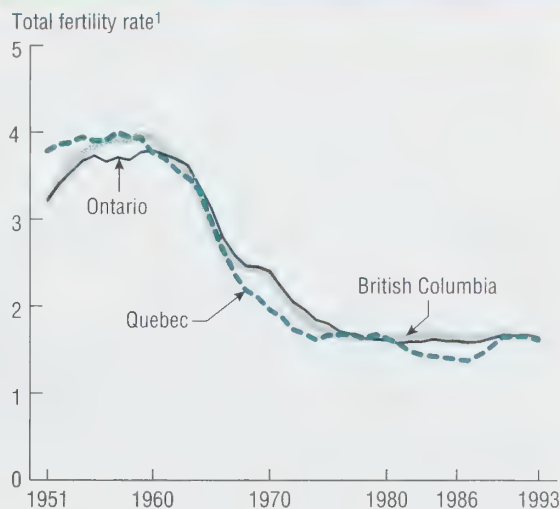
From the early 1950s to the late 1970s, the birth rate for women aged 30 to 34 was generally higher in Quebec than in Ontario and British Columbia. Since then, however, the birth rate among women aged 30 to 34 has been lower in Quebec than in the other two provinces. In 1993, there were 80 births for every 1,000 Quebec women aged 30 to 34, compared with 93 births in Ontario and 84 births in British Columbia. Although the birth rate was lower among Quebec women aged 30 to 34 than among women that age in Ontario and British Columbia, it was much higher in the early 1990s (between 76 and 80 births per 1,000 women) than it had been in the mid-1980s (between 59 and 62 births per 1,000 women).

Compared to women in Ontario and British Columbia, the largest drop in fertility over the past half-century has occurred in Quebec. Although fertility may increase in Quebec in the future in response to the provincial government's program of financial incentives to increase family size, annual growth in fertility rates in Quebec since the introduction of these birth allowances has been modest, and in recent years, rates have declined.

¹ **Statistics Related to Income Security Programs**, Human Resources Development, March 1995, and C. Le Bourdais and N. Marci-Gratton, "Quebec's Pro-Active Approach to Family Policy: Thinking and Acting Family," **Canada's Changing Families: Challenges to Public Policy**, The Vanier Institute of the Family, 1994.

Fertility declined in Canada's three largest provinces

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¹ Average number of children born per woman of childbearing age.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 82-553 and 84-210.



children born in 1993, 43% were a first child and 35% were a second child. In contrast, 28% of births in 1951 were a first child and 25% were a second child. In 1993, only 7% of children were born to mothers who already had three or more children, and less than 1% of children were born to mothers with six or more children. In 1951, on the other hand, 29% of children were born to mothers with three or more children and 9% to mothers with six or more children.

Childlessness has also become more common in recent years. Of women who had ever been married, the proportion aged 35 to 39 who had never given birth grew to 13% in 1991 from 7% in 1971, and 9% in 1961 and 1981. Similarly, the proportion of ever-married women aged 25 to 29 who were childless tripled to 38% in 1991 from 14% in 1961. A large proportion of these women, however, will likely have children later in life.

Implications of continued low fertility The consequences of declining birth rates are different for individuals than they are for society. For individuals, having fewer children and delaying childbearing may mean having more time and money to invest in each child and in their own personal development, as well as an increased opportunity to attain a higher standard of living. For society as a whole, however, falling birth rates lead to an aging of the population and a shrinking of the labour force. While the overall impact of these changes is unclear, a smaller proportion of the population with employment may decrease tax revenue for government programs at the same time as a rising proportion of seniors increases demand for income security programs and medical care. Governments have reacted to these changes by increasing immigration and, in the case of Quebec, creating a program of financial incentives for parents to have more children. These measures have not compensated for low fertility and the population has continued to age. It is not likely, however, that this aging will continue past the first half of the

next century. With continued low fertility rates, it is expected that there will be a relatively even distribution of the population across all age groups, once the large number of baby boomers have died.

Dr. Carl F. Grindstaff is a professor with the Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario.

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Education of Women in Canada

by Josée Normand



In the last half of the twentieth century, higher education has become a prerequisite for a growing share of occupations, and a requirement of most jobs paying above average wages. Moreover, the department of Human Resources Development estimated that just under one-half of jobs created during the 1990s will require more than sixteen years of education or training. Thus, for both women and men, the attainment of a postsecondary education has become increasingly important.

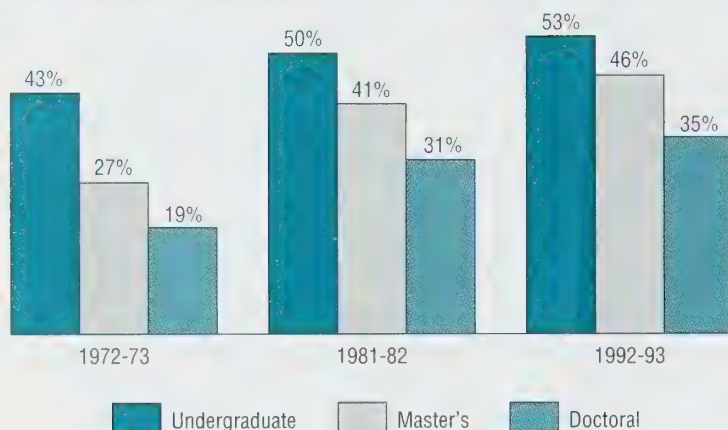
Men's enrolment in universities and colleges grew rapidly immediately following the Second World War. Among women, on the other hand, most of the increase in enrolment in higher education occurred

during the past twenty-five years. Also over this time, women's labour force participation rose sharply, and women increasingly entered higher-paying occupations.

Despite improvements in educational attainment, however, women are still concentrated in female-dominated fields of study at both the university and community college level. At the same time, they continue to be underrepresented in many of the engineering, mathematics and applied science programs. In addition, although women now account for the majority of students at the undergraduate level, they remain the minority at the graduate level.

Women as a proportion of full-time enrolment, by level, 1972-73 to 1992-93

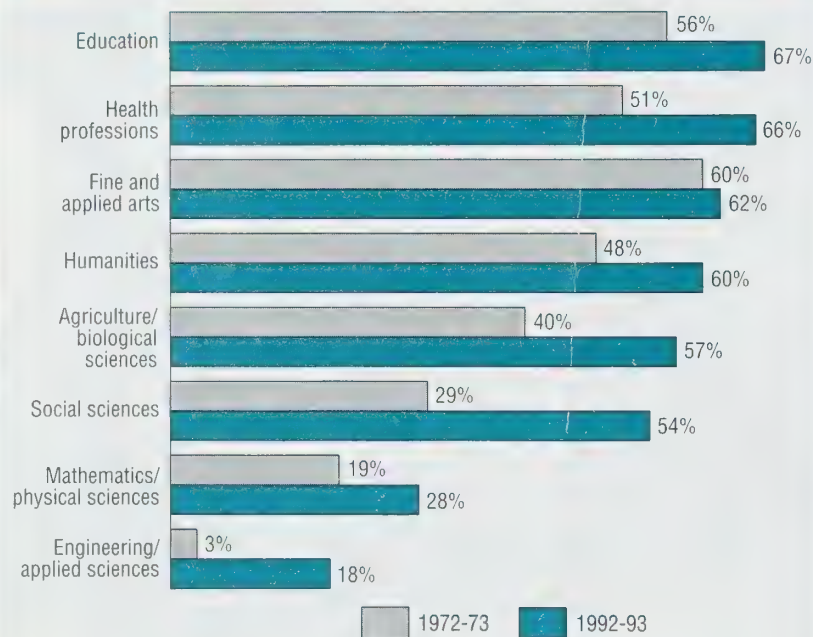
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Source: Statistics Canada, Education, Culture and Tourism Division.

Women as a proportion of total full-time university enrolment,¹ 1972-73 and 1992-93

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¹ Includes undergraduate and graduate students, except those in graduate certificate and diploma programs.

Source: Statistics Canada, Education, Culture and Tourism Division.

Proportion of women with a university education increasing rapidly

Over the past two decades, the proportion of women with a university degree increased faster than the proportion of men with this level of education. By 1991, 10% of women aged 15 and over had a university degree, up from only 3% in 1971. Over the same period, the proportion of men with a university degree increased to 13% from 7%. Nonetheless, the proportion of women with this level of education remained lower than that of men.

Both women and men were almost twice as likely in 1991 as in the early 1970s to have other postsecondary education, such as a diploma or some university or college courses. The proportion of women with this level of education rose to 32% in 1991 from 18% in 1971. Similarly, the proportion among men rose to 31% from 17%.

Given these increases in educational attainment, it is not surprising that relatively few women and men have less than a Grade 9 education. In 1991, 14% of both women and men had this level of education, less than half the proportions in 1971 (31% of women and 33% of men).

Young women more likely to be highly educated than young men In 1991, 10% of women aged 20 to 24 had a university degree, compared with 8% of men that age. Young women were also more likely (21%) than young men (14%) to have a postsecondary certificate or diploma.

Women aged 25 to 44, on the other hand, were less likely than men that age to have a university degree (16% compared with 18%), but were more likely to have a postsecondary certificate or diploma (22% compared with 17%). Both senior women and men tended to have

less formal education than did younger people. Among seniors, 3% of women and 8% of men were university graduates, and 9% of women and 6% of men had a postsecondary certificate or diploma.

Women majority at undergraduate level, but not in graduate schools The difference in the proportions of all women and men with a university degree will likely close even further in the future, because women's share of university enrolment is higher now than it was during the 1970s. At the undergraduate level, women accounted for 53% of full-time enrolment in 1992-93, up from 43% in 1972-73. The proportion of women at the graduate level increased even more rapidly over the two decades. In 1992-93, 46% of full-time Master's students and 35% of full-time doctoral students were women, up from 27% and 19%, respectively, in 1972-73. As a result of these increases, most full-time university students were women in 1992-93 (52%).

Few women enrolled in mathematics or engineering At the undergraduate level, women accounted for the majority of full-time enrolment in 1992-93 in six out of eight major fields of study: health professions (68%), education (67%), fine and applied arts (62%), humanities (61%), agriculture and biological sciences (59%) and social sciences (54%). Women remain underrepresented, however, in mathematics and the physical sciences (30%), and in engineering and applied sciences (19%).

At the Master's level, women accounted for the majority of full-time enrolment in four major fields of study: education (66%), health (62%), fine and applied arts (59%), and humanities (56%). At the doctoral level, however, education was the only major program in which women accounted for the majority of full-time students (60%).

Similar to the situation at the undergraduate level, relatively few women were enrolled in graduate studies in mathematics or engineering. Of all full-time students at the Master's level, women accounted for 27% of those in mathematics and the physical sciences, and 18% of those in engineering and applied sciences, proportions similar to those at the undergraduate level. At the doctoral level, however, the proportions

were lower: 19% in mathematics and the physical sciences, and only 11% in engineering and applied sciences.

At the undergraduate level, part-time studies more common among women

Almost 200,000 women were attending university part-time in 1992-93. Part-time enrolment accounted for 40% of total enrolment of women, compared with about 30% of that of men.

At the undergraduate level, the number of women studying part-time in 1992-93 (175,800) was much higher than that of men (102,400). As a result, women accounted for 63% of part-time undergraduate students. At the graduate level, however, the number of women enrolled part-time (22,100) was only slightly above that of men (20,600), and women accounted for just over one-half (52%) of part-time graduate students.

Women as a proportion of full-time enrolment, by level, 1992-93

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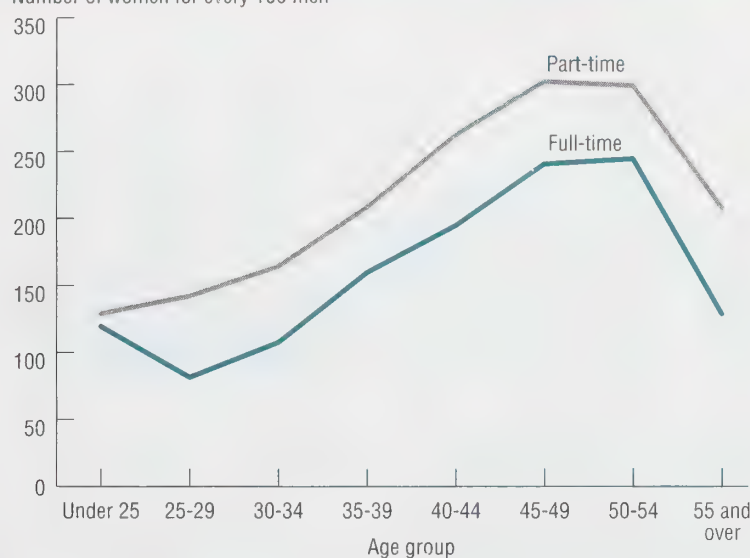
Field of study	Undergraduate	Master's	Doctoral
		%	
Health professions	68	62	43
Education	67	66	60
Fine and applied arts	62	59	46
Humanities	61	56	46
Agriculture/biological sciences	59	50	33
Social sciences	54	47	45
Mathematics/physical sciences	30	27	19
Engineering/applied sciences	19	18	11

Source: Statistics Canada, Education, Culture and Tourism Division.

Ratio of female to male undergraduates, 1992-93

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Number of women for every 100 men



Source: Statistics Canada, Education, Culture and Tourism Division.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

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When education was less valued, men left school earlier than did women

In the early part of this century, the proportion of women aged 15 to 19 who were attending school exceeded that of men.¹ This was perhaps because, at that time, there were fewer employment opportunities for young women than for young men. By 1951, however, the situation had reversed and proportionately more young men aged 15 to 19 were attending school. In the following decade, young men remained more likely to be in school, although school attendance became much more common among both women and men. During that period, the educational requirements of many occupations were rising and enrolment of young men in university programs began to grow. At the same time, increased urbanization resulted in greater employment opportunities for young women. This was perhaps why school attendance did not increase as much among young women as it did among young men.

Since the 1960s, the proportion of women and men aged 15 to 19 who were attending school has continued to rise. It was not until 1981, however, that the proportion of women attending school equalled that of men.

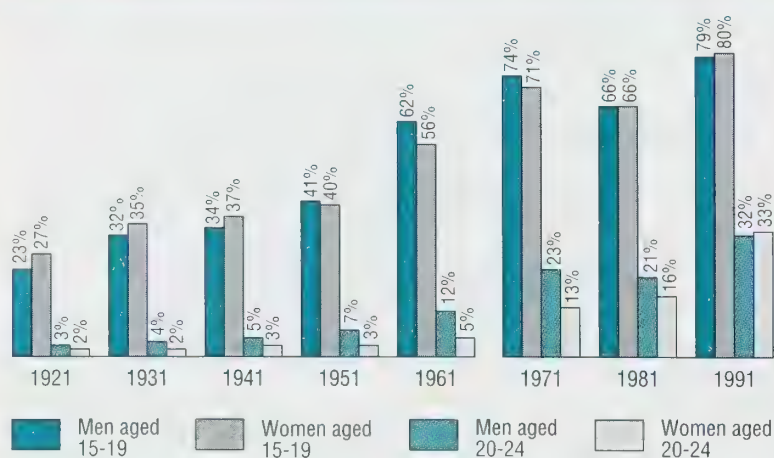
In contrast, from 1921 to 1981, men aged 20 to 24 were proportionately more likely than women that age to be attending school. By 1981, however, the gap between the proportions for men and women narrowed considerably. In 1991, the proportion of women aged 20 to 24 attending school full-time² equalled that of men.

¹ Discussion of trends from 1921 to 1961 is from Statistics Canada, 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Part 1, General Summary and Review, p. 10-5. Data exclude Newfoundland, and the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

² From 1971 to 1991, full-time attendance was used to best approximate the concepts used in earlier years.

Proportion of young men and women attending school, 1921-1991¹

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¹ From 1971 to 1991, full-time attendance was used to best approximate the concepts used in earlier years. Data from 1921 to 1961 exclude Newfoundland, and the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Source: Statistics Canada, 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Part 1 and Catalogues 92-742, 92-743, 92-914 and 93-328.

Part-time university attendance was most common among women aged 25 and over. In 1992-93, only 7% of female undergraduates under age 20 and 19% of those aged 20 to 24 were enrolled part-time. In contrast, 60% of female undergraduates aged 25 to 29 and 87% of those aged 40 to 44 were part-time students. The proportion of male undergraduates who were enrolled part-time also rose at a similar rate with increased age.

More women undergraduates in most age groups Since students under age 25 studying full-time made up about one-half (54%) of all undergraduates in 1991, it was the growing number of women under age 25 that was mainly responsible for the female majority on campus. Nonetheless, among students in undergraduate programs, women outnumbered men in most age groups.

Of full-time students under age 25 in 1991, there were 119 women for every 100 men. This ratio declined to a low of 81 women for every 100 men among those aged 25 to 29. In each subsequent age group, the ratio increased, reaching 244 women for every 100 men among those aged 50 to 54. At ages 55 and over, however, the ratio fell to 128 women for every 100 men.

Women accounted for an even larger proportion of all part-time undergraduate students. Among those under age 25, there were 129 women for every 100 men. The ratio of women to men widened consistently with each age group. By age 45 to 54, there were about 300 women for every 100 men in part-time undergraduate programs. The ratio of women to men was lower among part-time students aged 55 and over, but women still outnumbered men (208 women for every 100 men).

Many women over age 25 may be pursuing a university education, either part-time or full-time, because they did not have the opportunity to do so when they were younger. Some may have been divorced or widowed, and are increasing their educational attainment to improve their job opportunities. Others, perhaps in the empty-nest family stage, have more

time for studies in their older years than they did when they were younger. By age 55, however, many men are retiring and also have increased time available to pursue their education. This perhaps explains why the ratio of women to men is closer among people in this age group, even though in the population that age women outnumber men.

Women account for over half of full-time community college enrolment

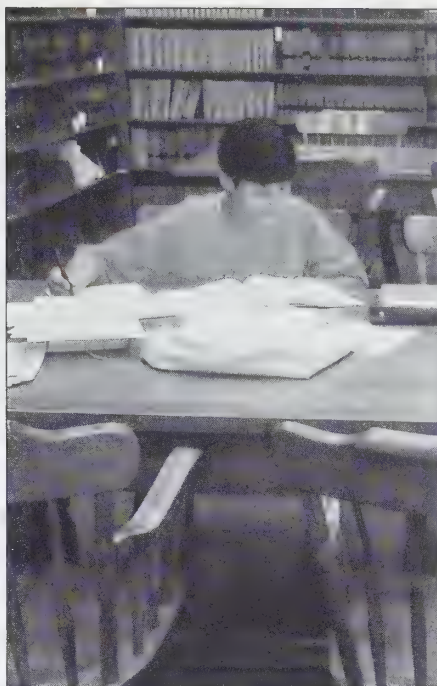
In 1991-92, 53% of all full-time community college students were women, a figure virtually unchanged since the mid-1970s. As in universities, women accounted for the majority of students enrolled full-time in most fields of study, with the exception of applied science and technology programs. For example, almost all students enrolled full-time in secretarial sciences were women (96%), as were those in educational and counselling services (90%) and nursing (89%). In contrast, women accounted for only 32% of those in natural science and primary industry programs, 30% of those in mathematics and computer science, and only 12% of those in both engineering and other technologies.

Many employed women upgrading their job qualifications

In 1991, 25% of employed women were taking non-academic courses to improve their employment skills, while 8% were taking academic courses with the same objective. Some of these women were upgrading their qualifications by taking both types of job-related training. The proportions of employed men taking non-academic (24%) and academic (7%) courses designed to improve their skills were similar to those of women.

Few women in trade apprenticeship programs

Women accounted for only about 1% of people enrolled in the fifteen largest trade apprenticeship programs in 1992, the same proportion as in 1988. The number of women participating in such programs, however, doubled to 1,580 from 760 over the same period.¹ The largest proportions of women apprentices were in machinist, and painting and decorating programs in 1992 (about 4% of each). Women made up between 1% and 2% of apprentices in carpenter, construction



electrician, and motor vehicle body repair and mechanic programs, and less than 1% of those in bricklayer, industrial electrician, heavy-duty equipment mechanic, millwright, plumber, refrigeration, sheet metal, pipe fitter and welder programs. These major trades, each with at least 3,000 registrants in 1992, accounted for 73% of all apprentices in the 170 recognized programs.

Only two trades with over 3,000 registered apprentices in 1992 were not almost completely dominated by men: hairdresser (hairstylist) and cook. Between 1988 and 1992, about 86% of apprenticing hairdressers (hairstylists) and 26% of apprenticing cooks were women.

Most Canadians do not have a postsecondary education

Despite rapid increases in higher education, almost 60% of both women and men in 1991 did not have any formal education beyond high school. Even among people aged 25 to 44, this was the case for about 40% of women and men. With nearly half of new jobs requiring at least sixteen years of education, people with lower levels of educational attainment will likely become increasingly disadvantaged in the job market.

In addition, with the progression of the information age, many jobs created in the future will require advanced technical and science-related skills. Women may have difficulty obtaining this type

of employment because they lack the necessary qualifications. Even in recent years, women have accounted for a very small proportion of students enrolled in engineering, mathematics, computer science and other applied science programs. Similarly, partly as a result of historically low enrolment in such programs, women account for only about one in five professionals employed in natural science, engineering and mathematics-related occupations.

¹ Karl Skof, "Women in Registered Apprenticeship Training Programs," *Education Quarterly Review*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 81-003: Vol. 1, No. 4.

• For additional information, see **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, Third Edition, Statistics Canada Catalogue 89-503E.

Josée Normand is an analyst with the Target Groups Project, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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THE CHINESE IN CANADA

by Rosalinda Costa and Viviane Renaud



Since the 1991 Census, on which this article is based, immigration to Canada from Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China has continued to grow rapidly. As a result, both the number and proportion of people in Canada with Chinese ancestry are larger today than in 1991.

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada records, the annual number of people immigrating from Hong Kong was 36,000 in 1993. This was up 25% from 1990 (29,000) and 80% from the late 1980s (about 20,000 each year). In contrast, from 1978 to 1986, between 5,000 and 8,000 people immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong each year. With this growth, the proportion of all immigrants to Canada who were from Hong Kong increased, rising to between 10% and 15% each year during the late 1980s and early 1990s. In contrast, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, only about 5% of all immigrants were from that country. Part of the reason for this growth in immigration is that on June 30, 1997, Hong Kong will return to Chinese from British rule and many people from Hong Kong may have immigrated to Canada in anticipation of this transfer.

Each year since the mid-1980s, between 20% and 40% of immigrants to Canada from Hong Kong were entrepreneurs and investors, and their dependants. An entrepreneur is an immigrant who intends to establish, purchase or invest in a commercial venture that will create employment opportunities for Canadian citizens, and who has the ability to participate in the management of the venture. Investors, on the other hand, are immigrants who have experience directing a commercial venture, and who have made a minimum investment of between \$250,000 and \$500,000 in a project that will create or continue employment opportunities for Canadian citizens. Since the mid-1980s, people from Hong Kong have accounted for between one-third and one-half of all immigrants entering the country in the entrepreneur class each year, and 40% to 60% of all immigrants in the investor class.

The annual number of people immigrating to Canada from the People's Republic of China is also higher now than during the late 1980s. There were 9,000 immigrants to Canada from China in 1993. This was a drop from 14,000 in 1991, but a substantial increase from the mid-1980s when about 2,000 people immigrated to Canada from China each year. The large increase in immigration in 1990 and 1991 occurred following the events in Tiananmen Square in 1989. This was partly because Chinese citizens in Canada with student visas were given the opportunity, under a special measure, to remain in Canada as landed immigrants.

Immigrants to Canada from the People's Republic of China were unlikely to be in either the entrepreneur or investor class: less than 1% of immigrants each year during the 1980s and 1990s. A larger proportion of immigrants from the People's Republic of China were refugees in 1991 (6%) and 1992 (11%), than during the mid- and late 1980s (about 1% or less).—Ed.

Annual immigration from Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China as a proportion of total immigration.

CST



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Immigration Statistics.

Prior to the 1960s, restrictions on immigration kept the Chinese population in Canada fairly small. Since then, however, recent waves of Chinese immigrants, largely from Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China, have made the Chinese one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in Canada. In the five years before the 1991 Census alone, the proportion of Canada's population who were people of Chinese origin grew to 2.4% from 1.7%.

The first major wave of Chinese immigration to Canada occurred during the late 1800s when Chinese labourers arrived in Western Canada to work on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. After the completion of the railway, however, Chinese immigration was no longer encouraged, and in 1885, a federal bill imposed a head tax of \$50 on people of Chinese origin entering Canada. To further discourage immigration, this tax was increased to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903. At that time, the tax exceeded the average annual income of many Canadians (about \$300).¹ By 1923, immigration of Chinese people was halted with the passing of the *Chinese Immigration Act*. This *Act*, which prohibited Chinese people from entering Canada, remained in effect until 1947, when it was repealed.

Restrictions on Chinese immigration remained in place, however, between 1947 and 1962. During that time, only spouses and children of Chinese people living in Canada were allowed to enter. Admission of Chinese immigrants remained restricted until 1967, when a point system to evaluate potential immigrants was introduced. Since then, Chinese people have been admitted to Canada under the same criteria as other immigrants.

Despite the head tax during the early part of the twentieth century, the number of people of Chinese origin living in Canada increased, rising to 46,500 in 1931 from 17,300 in 1901. With continued restrictions on immigration, the number declined during the 1940s and 1950s and then rose to 58,200 in 1961. Following changes to immigration policy in the 1960s, however, the Chinese population in Canada increased greatly, reaching 120,000 in 1971. Since then, rapid growth has continued and by 1991, 653,000 people with Chinese ancestry² were living in Canada, a 58% increase from 1986.



¹ Average annual wage of those employed in manufacturing in 1900, 1901 Census of Canada.

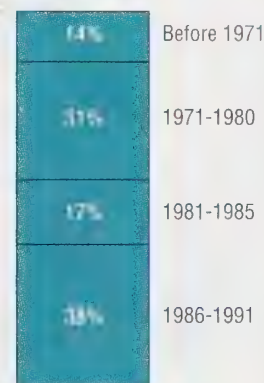
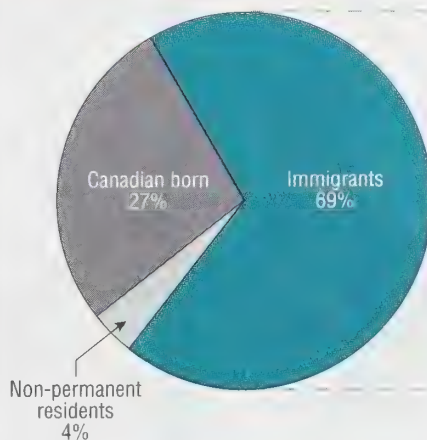
² Respondents to the 1991 Census could report more than one ethnic origin. This article includes all people who reported Chinese as an ethnic origin, whether or not they reported other ethnic origins. That year, 90% of people reporting Chinese did not report any other ethnic origins.

Most people of Chinese origin are immigrants

CST

Total number of people of Chinese origin – 652,650

Period of immigration



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 93-316.

One of the fastest growing ethnic groups As most of the growth in the Chinese population during the past thirty years has been through immigration, it is not surprising that 69% of the Chinese living in Canada in 1991 were immigrants. The remainder of the Chinese population were either born in Canada (27%) or were non-permanent residents (4%).³ Of immigrants of Chinese origin in 1991, over one-half (55%) arrived between 1981 and 1991, 31% during the 1970s, 9% during the 1960s, and only 4% before 1961. Of the Chinese born outside Canada, most were born in the People's Republic of China (34%) and Hong Kong (33%). The remainder were born in Viet Nam (10%), Taiwan (4%), Malaysia (3%) and other countries (15%).

Chinese population is concentrated in four provinces In 1991, almost all people of Chinese ancestry (95%) lived in four provinces: Ontario (47%), British Columbia (30%), Alberta (12%) and Quebec (6%). In comparison, 84% of Canada's total population lived in these four provinces. The Atlantic provinces, on the other hand, were home to 1% of the Chinese living in Canada in 1991, compared with 9% of Canada's total population.

The Chinese made up 6% of British Columbia's residents, 3% in Ontario and Alberta, and 1% in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In each of the remaining provinces and territories, the Chinese community accounted for less than 1% of the population.

Two out of three Chinese live in Toronto or Vancouver Individuals from many ethnic backgrounds, including Chinese, tend to settle in Canada's urban areas where employment opportunities are generally more plentiful, and where there are existing ethnic communities. In 1991, Chinese people (94%) were more likely than Canadians in general (60%) to live in census metropolitan areas (CMAs). In addition, two-thirds of the Chinese in Canada lived in either Toronto (39%) or Vancouver (27%). In contrast, only 20% of Canada's total population lived in these two CMAs. As a result, the Chinese accounted for a fairly large proportion of the populations of the Vancouver (11%) and Toronto (7%) CMAs in 1991.

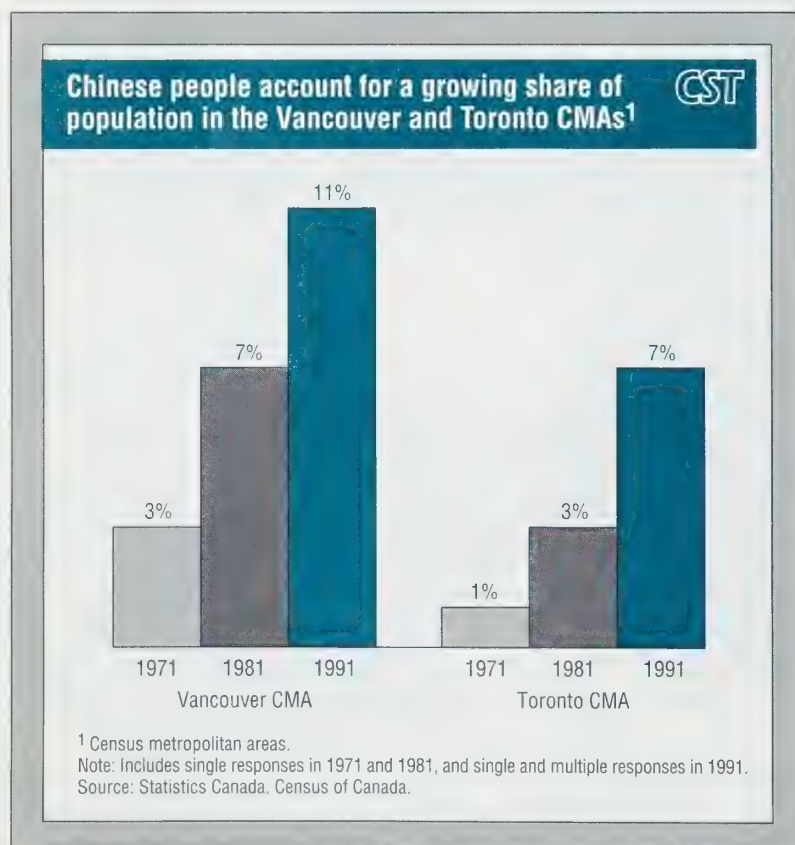
Furthermore, the Chinese population was concentrated in a few municipalities within these two urban areas. In the Toronto CMA, eight out of ten Chinese lived in either Scarborough (28%), Toronto (22%), North York (16%), Markham (9%) or Mississauga (8%). In the Vancouver CMA, 60% of Chinese people lived in the city of Vancouver and 12% in both Burnaby and Richmond.

A younger population The Chinese population is slightly younger, on average, than the total Canadian population. In 1991, over half (54%) of Chinese people living in Canada were aged 15 to 44, 16% were aged 45 to 64 and 7% were aged 65 and over. In the total Canadian population, on the other hand, 48% were aged 15 to 44, 20% were aged 45 to 64 and 11% were aged 65 and over. The proportion of children in the Chinese population (22%) was similar to that in the overall Canadian population (21%).

As most of the Chinese population in 1991 had immigrated to Canada within the past three decades, it is not surprising that most Chinese people who had been born in Canada were children or young adults. That year, 60% of Canadian-born Chinese were under age 15, 35% were aged 15 to 44, 4% were aged 45 to 64 and 2% were seniors. Among Chinese immigrants, relatively few were under age 15 (9%), 60% were aged 15 to 44, 22% were aged 45 to 64 and 10% were seniors.

English was the mother tongue of one in five Chinese While three-quarters of the Chinese living in Canada reported Chinese as their only mother tongue, 18% reported English, 1% Vietnamese, 1% French and 5% other languages. Chinese people born in Canada, however, were about as likely to report English (46%) as their mother tongue as they were to report Chinese (47%). Almost all Chinese immigrants reported Chinese as their mother tongue (85%).

³ Non-permanent residents are people living in Canada under student or employment authorizations, Minister's permits or who are refugee claimants.



Many people of Chinese origin, however, have adopted English as the language spoken at home. Overall, about one-third of people of Chinese origin reported that English was the language they spoke at home most often (32%). Speaking English at home was much more common among Canadian-born Chinese people (65%) than among Chinese immigrants (20%).

Many Chinese immigrants could not speak English or French in 1991 In 1991, 77% of Chinese people could carry on a conversation in English. Smaller proportions could speak both English and French (6%) or French only (1%). A slightly higher proportion of the Chinese born in Canada (80%) were able to converse in English than were the Chinese born elsewhere (76%).

A significant proportion of the Chinese, however, could speak neither English nor French (16%). This situation was particularly prevalent among immigrants (19%). As many Chinese immigrants have arrived in Canada recently, some have not yet had the time or opportunity to learn one of Canada's official languages. In addition, others living in cities with large Chinese communities may not find it necessary to learn English or French. Almost 9% of the Canadian-born Chinese were unable to speak at least one of Canada's official languages. Most Chinese people born in Canada, however, are very young and many may not have started school.

Most Chinese report having no religious affiliation The Chinese in Canada were much more likely than Canadians in general to report having no religious affiliation. In 1991, over one-half (56%) of the Chinese population reported no religious affiliation, while this was the case for only 13% of the total population. Chinese people were less likely to report an affiliation with Catholic (15%) or Protestant (17%) religions than were Canadians in general (46% and 36%, respectively). Among the Chinese, however, 11% reported Buddhism as their religion. This religion was uncommon among the total population (less than 1%).

Canadian-born Chinese people were more likely than Chinese immigrants to be affiliated with a Christian religion. Among the Chinese population, 22% of those born in Canada reported an affiliation with a Protestant church, compared with 15% of immigrants. Chinese immigrants (14%), on the other hand, were almost three times more likely than Canadian-born Chinese (5%) to be Buddhist.

Chinese adults have higher levels of formal education than Canadians Among people aged 25 to 44 in 1991, 38% of Chinese immigrants and 53% of Canadian-born Chinese had at least some

university education, compared with 27% of the total population. Part of this difference occurred because, even within the 25 to 44 age group, Chinese immigrants and, particularly, Canadian-born Chinese tended to be closer to age 25, and younger people are more likely than older people to have some university education. In addition, Chinese people with higher levels of education are more likely than other Chinese to be selected for immigration to Canada, thus increasing the overall educational level of that group.

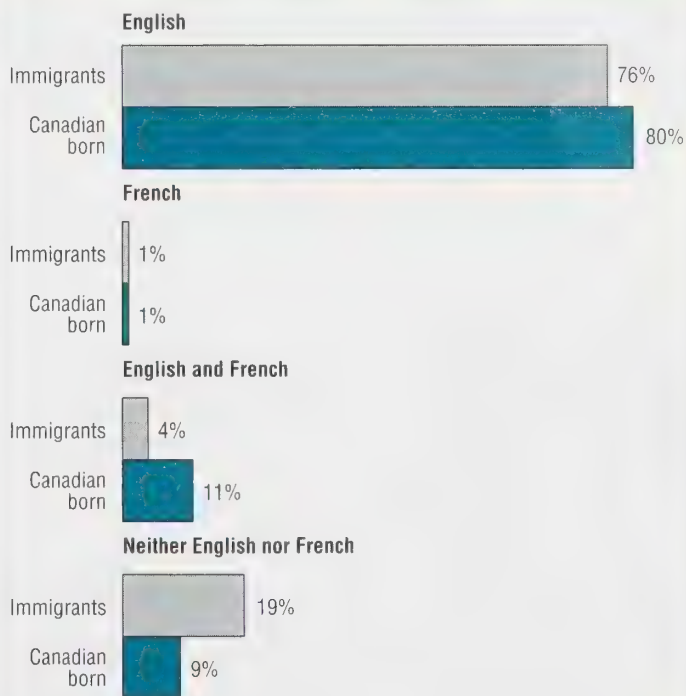
Chinese men were the most likely to have high levels of educational attainment. In 1991, 45% of immigrant Chinese men aged 25 to 44 and 55% of Canadian-born Chinese men that age had at least some university education. In contrast, 28% of all Canadian men that age were that highly educated. Among women aged 25 to 44, 32% of Chinese immigrants and 52% of the Chinese born in Canada had at least some university education, compared with 26% of women in general.

Among those aged 45 and over, Chinese people (20%) were also more likely than Canadians in general (15%) to have at least some university

Almost one in five Chinese immigrants unable to speak English or French in 1991

CST

% of Chinese people in Canada with knowledge of official languages



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

education. This difference was due entirely to the educational attainment of Chinese men, as the proportion of Chinese women with this level of education was equal to that of women in general (13% each). In 1991, 28% of Chinese men aged 45 and over had at least some university education, compared with 18% of all men that age. Among Chinese people aged 45 and over, there was little difference in the proportion of immigrants and Canadian-born with this level of education.

In this older age group, however, immigrant Chinese women were much more likely than other men and women to have less than a Grade 9 education. In 1991, 47% of immigrant Chinese women aged 45 and over had less than a Grade 9 education, compared with 18% of Canadian-born Chinese women and 29% of women in general. Among men aged 45 and over, a similar proportion of Chinese immigrants and the overall population had less than a Grade 9 education (28% each). Canadian-born Chinese men aged 45 and over were the least likely to have had this level of education (15%).

High labour force participation, different occupations Chinese adults (67%) were about as likely as all Canadian adults (68%) to have participated in the labour force in 1991. Among those aged 25 to 64, this was true for both men and women in all age groups. The only exception was Canadian-born Chinese women, who were more likely than all other women to have participated in the labour force. Among those aged 25 to 44, for example, 88% of Canadian-born Chinese women were participating in the labour force, compared with 78% of immigrant Chinese women and 79% of women in general. Similarly, among those aged 45 to 64, 70% of Canadian-born Chinese women were participating in the labour force, compared with 57% of both immigrant Chinese women and women in general.

Despite similar labour force participation rates, the occupations held by people of Chinese origin differed from those held by other Canadians. In 1991, managerial and professional occupations were much more common among Canadian-born Chinese men (38%) and immigrant Chinese men (37%) than among men in general (28%). Similarly, service occupations were also more common among immigrant Chinese men (20%) and Canadian-born Chinese men (14%) than among all men (10%). Employment in primary industries, processing, product fabricating and construction, on the other hand, was much less common among immigrant Chinese men (18%) and Canadian-born Chinese men (14%) than among men in general (33%).

Canadian-born Chinese women (35%) were slightly more likely than women in general (32%) to be

employed in managerial and professional occupations. Immigrant Chinese women (26%), on the other hand, were much less likely than other women to have these types of occupations. Similarly, clerical work was more common among Canadian-born Chinese women (37%) than among all women (32%) and immigrant Chinese women (30%). Immigrant Chinese women (12%), on the other hand, were much more likely than Chinese women born in Canada (1%) or women in general (3%) to be employed in product fabricating.

Lower unemployment rates among Canadian-born Chinese aged 25 and over Among people aged 25 to 44, the unemployment rate of Canadian-born Chinese men (7%) was slightly lower than that of Chinese immigrant men (8%) and lower than that of all men (10%). Similarly, the unemployment rate of Canadian-born Chinese women that age (6%) was much lower than that of immigrant Chinese women and all women (10% each). Among people aged 45 to 64, the unemployment rate of Canadian-born Chinese men (6%) was lower than that of immigrant Chinese men and men in general (8% each). Among women that age, the unemployment rate of Canadian-born Chinese people (5%) was half that of Chinese immigrants (10%) and lower than that of the total population (8%).

The unemployment rates of young people, on the other hand, were high and similar for all three populations. Among men aged 15 to 24, 18% of Chinese immigrants, 17% of Canadian-born Chinese and 16% of the total population were unemployed. Among women that age, 15% of immigrant and Canadian-born Chinese, and of the total population were unemployed in 1991.

Rosalinda Costa and **Viviane Renaud** are analysts with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CST



EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for "Canadian Fertility, 1951 to 1993: From Boom to Bust to Stability?"

Objectives

- ☐ To learn or review the components of a chart
- ☐ To analyse trends in births and fertility rates for Canada
- ☐ To speculate on future trends based on analysis of statistical data

Method

1. Review the components of a chart: titles, legends, X and Y axes, footnotes, units of measure, and data.
2. Divide the class into groups and assign one of the charts in "Canadian Fertility, 1951 to 1993: From Boom to Bust to Stability?" to each group. Give the students copies of the charts.
3. Each group should decide which are the most interesting aspects of their chart and write short statements describing the trends. The descriptions should include whether the indicator is rising, falling or remaining stable, and the pace at which the change is occurring.
4. After the students have completed the descriptions, have them predict, in writing, what will happen to the indicators in the future and speculate on the implications of these trend for Canada.
5. Have the groups present their work to the class, while the teacher summarizes the points.
6. Follow-up activities could include reading the article and comparing the class summary to the text. Did the class select the same variables as the author? Did the class and author have similar interpretations and conclusions? Also, the class could prepare a scrapbook of related newspaper and magazine articles, and summaries of stories carried by the electronic media.

Using other resources

- ☐ Use this issue of *CST* or *Selected Births and Fertility Statistics, Canada, 1921-1990*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 82-553, to examine the fertility situation at the time when most of the class was born. What was the impact on their generation?
- ☐ Examine other aspects of Canadian families and society with the *Family Studies Kit*. Order Statistics Canada product number 12F0044XHP for a set of 40 colour graphics on paper with supporting narratives. Order product number 12F0044XHB for a kit containing colour acetates of the graphics. Also, watch for parts of this kit on Statistics Canada's World Wide Web site on the Internet: <http://www.statcan.ca/>.



Share your ideas!

Do you have lessons using *CST* that you would like to share with other teachers? Send your ideas or comments to Harris Popplewell, Social Science Teacher at J.S. Woodsworth Secondary School, c/o Joel Yan, University Liaison Program, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0T6. FAX (613) 951-4513. Internet: yanjoel@statcan.ca.



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CUMULATIVE INDEX: SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

POPULATION

1986 Census Highlights	Summer 1987	Emotional Support and Family Contacts of Older Canadians <i>by Susan McDaniel</i>	Spring 1993
1986 Census Highlights: Aging of the Canadian Population <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Winter 1987	Ethnic Diversity in the 1990s <i>by Viviane Renaud and Jane Badets</i>	Autumn 1993
1986 Census Highlights: Winnipeg	Spring 1990	Ethnic Origins of the Canadian Population <i>by Pamela M. White</i>	Summer 1989
75 Years of Social Reporting <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	Summer 1993	Falling Through the Cracks: Women Aged 55-64 Living on Their Own <i>by Mary Anne Burke and Aron Spector</i>	Winter 1991
A History of Emigration from Canada <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Winter 1994	Forty Years of Social Housing in Toronto <i>by Susan McMillan</i>	Winter 1987
A Profile of Employed Migrants Between Atlantic Canada and Ontario <i>by Robert Hiscott</i>	Spring 1987	Help Around the House: Support for Older Canadians <i>by Janet Hagey</i>	Autumn 1989
Allophone Immigrants: Language Choices in the Home <i>by Éline Fournier</i>	Winter 1994	Immigrants in Quebec <i>by Viviane Renaud and Rosalinda Costa</i>	Summer 1995
An Aging Society: Another Viewpoint • Dependency Ratios <i>by Raj Chawla</i> • Implications of an Aging Society <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Spring 1991	Immigration <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Autumn 1986
Are Young People Farming? <i>by Chris O'Toole and Marc Prud'homme</i>	Autumn 1993	Immigration During the 1980s <i>by Ronald Logan</i>	Spring 1991
Calgary: A Statistical Profile <i>by Nat Stone</i>	Winter 1987	Interregional Migration of the Canadian Population <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Autumn 1987
Canada in the 21st Century	Summer 1986	Language in Canada <i>by Luc Albert</i>	Spring 1989
Canada's Children <i>by Alain Crégheur and Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Summer 1991	Leaving the Fold: Declining Church Attendance <i>by Alain Baril and George A. Mori</i>	Autumn 1991
Canada's Immigrant Children <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Spring 1992	Living Arrangements of Canada's "Older Elderly" Population <i>by Gordon E. Priest</i>	Autumn 1988
Canada's Immigrant Population <i>by Jane Badets</i>	Autumn 1989	Migration Between Atlantic Canada and Ontario, 1951-1985 <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Spring 1987
Canada's Immigrants: Recent Trends <i>by Jane Badets</i>	Summer 1993	Non Parlo Né Inglese, Né Francese "I Can't Speak English or French" <i>by Brian Harrison</i>	Winter 1993
Canada's National Capital Region: A Profile of Ottawa-Hull <i>by Jeffrey Frank</i>	Summer 1995	Population Aging: Baby Boomers Into the 21st Century <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Summer 1993
Canada's Off-reserve Aboriginal Population <i>by Ryan J. McDonald</i>	Winter 1991	Profile of the Canadian Armed Forces <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Winter 1989
Canada's Refugee Flows: Gender Inequality <i>by Monica Boyd</i>	Spring 1994	Public Opinion on Aboriginal Peoples' Issues in Canada <i>by J. Rick Ponting</i>	Winter 1988
Canada's Seniors <i>by Pierre Gauthier</i>	Autumn 1991	Religious Affiliation in Canada <i>by George Mori</i>	Autumn 1987
Canadians on the Move <i>by Janet Che-Alford</i>	Summer 1992	Seniors 75+: Living Arrangements and Lifestyles • Living Arrangements <i>by Gordon E. Priest</i> • Lifestyles <i>by Sandrine Prasil</i>	Autumn 1993
Changes in Fertility Among Canada's Linguistic Groups <i>by Réjean Lachapelle</i>	Autumn 1988	Social Consequences of Demographic Change <i>by Yolande Lavoie and Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Winter 1993
Changing Faces: Visible Minorities in Toronto <i>by Joanne Moreau</i>	Winter 1991	South Asians in Canada <i>by Pamela M. White and Atul Nanda</i>	Autumn 1989
Defining Toronto <i>by Bruce Orok</i>	Summer 1993		

CUMULATIVE INDEX: SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

Temporary Residents of Canada <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Spring 1994	Common Law: A Growing Alternative <i>by Cam Stout</i>	Winter 1991
The Chinese in Canada <i>by Rosalinda Costa and Viviane Renaud</i>	Winter 1995	Common Law: Living Together as Husband and Wife Without Marriage <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Autumn 1986
The Demographic Future <i>by Gordon Priest</i>	Summer 1990	Common-law Unions: Nearly Half a Million in 1986 <i>by Pierre Turcotte</i>	Autumn 1988
The Farm Community <i>by Judie McSkimmings</i>	Spring 1990	Common-law Unions: The Quebec Difference <i>by Jo-Anne Belliveau, Jillian Oderkirk and Cynthia Silver</i>	Summer 1994
The Indo-Chinese in Canada <i>by Pamela M. White</i>	Autumn 1990	Decline in the Number of Children <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Autumn 1990
The Inner City in Transition	Spring 1990	Divorce Rates in Canada <i>by Owen Adams</i>	Winter 1988
The Inuit <i>by Andrew J. Siggner</i>	Winter 1989	Dual Earners: Who's Responsible for Housework? <i>by Katherine Marshall</i>	Winter 1993
The Northern Population <i>by Allan Maslove and David Hawkes</i>	Winter 1989	Families: Diversity the New Norm <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Summer 1986
The Socio-demographic Conditions of Registered Indians <i>by Andrew J. Siggner</i>	Winter 1986	Female Lone Parenthood: The Duration of Episodes <i>by Maureen Moore</i>	Autumn 1988
Two by Two? Sex Ratios of Unattached Canadians <i>by Robert Riordan</i>	Spring 1994	Household Chores <i>by Katherine Marshall</i>	Spring 1990
Urban Canada <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Winter 1987	Leaving the Nest? The Impact of Family Structure <i>by Monica Boyd and Doug Norris</i>	Autumn 1995
Urbanization in Canada <i>by Brian Biggs and Ray Bollman</i>	Summer 1991	Marriage in Canada: Changing Beliefs and Behaviours, 1600-1990 <i>Adapted by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Summer 1994
Vancouver's Diverse and Growing Population <i>by Jennifer Chard</i>	Autumn 1995	Marrying and Divorcing: A Status Report for Canada <i>by Owen Adams and Dhruva Nagnur</i>	Summer 1989
Visible Minorities: A Diverse Group <i>by Karen Kelly</i>	Summer 1995	Mixed-language Couples and Their Children <i>by Pierre Turcotte</i>	Summer 1993

FAMILY

1986 Census Highlights: Changes in Living Arrangements	Spring 1989	Robert Glossop on the Canadian Family	Winter 1994
1986 Census Highlights: Marital Status <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Spring 1988	Today's Extended Families <i>by Anna Paletta</i>	Winter 1992
Adoption in Canada <i>by Kerry J. Daly and Michael P. Sobol</i>	Spring 1994	Traditional-earner Families <i>by Jillian Oderkirk, Cynthia Silver and Marc Prud'homme</i>	Spring 1994
Alimony and Child Support <i>by Diane Galarneau</i>	Spring 1993	Tying the Knot: An Overview of Marriage Rates in Canada <i>by Dhruva Nagnur and Owen Adams</i>	Autumn 1987
Births Outside Marriage: A Growing Alternative <i>by Marilyn Belle and Kevin McQuillan</i>	Summer 1994	Women Parenting Alone <i>by Maureen Moore</i>	Winter 1987
Births to Unmarried Women	Summer 1986	Young Adults Living in Their Parents' Home <i>by Monica Boyd and Edward T. Pryor</i>	Summer 1989
Canadian Fertility, 1951 to 1993: From Boom to Bust to Stability? <i>by Carl F. Grindstaff</i>	Winter 1995		
Caring for Children <i>by Mary Anne Burke, Susan Crompton, Alison Jones and Katherine Nessner</i>	Autumn 1991		
Changes in Family Living <i>by Pina La Novara</i>	Summer 1993		
Child Care	Summer 1986		

HOUSING

Canadians in Subsidized Housing <i>by Margaret Blakeney</i>	Winter 1992
Co-operative Housing: A Third Tenure Form <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Spring 1990
Home Improvement <i>by Janet Che-Alford</i>	Summer 1990

CUMULATIVE INDEX: SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

Home Ownership <i>by Janet Che-Alford</i>	Spring 1990	Job Displacement <i>by G. Picot and T. Wannell</i>	Spring 1988
Housing Affordability Problems Among Renters <i>by Oliver Lo and Pierre Gauthier</i>	Spring 1995	Labour Force Trends: Canada and the United States <i>by David Gower</i>	Autumn 1988
Housing Tenure Trends, 1951-1991 <i>by Cynthia Silver and René Van Diepen</i>	Spring 1995	Labour Force Trends: Two Decades in Review <i>by Jo-Anne B. Parliament</i>	Autumn 1990
Mortgage Rates and the Housing Market <i>by Alex Berljawsky</i>	Winter 1986	Maternity Leave <i>by Joanne Moloney</i>	Autumn 1989
People in Co-operative Housing <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Autumn 1990	Nursing in Canada <i>by Marie Sedivy-Glasgow</i>	Spring 1992
Shelter Costs <i>by Tom Bird</i>	Spring 1990	Regional Unemployment <i>by David Gower</i>	Spring 1990
LABOUR FORCE		Secretaries <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Summer 1990
Absenteeism at Work <i>by Ernest B. Akyeampong</i>	Summer 1992	Self-employment in Canada <i>by Gary L. Cohen</i>	Spring 1989
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1994	Spring 1995	The Changing Industrial Mix of Employment, 1951-1985 <i>by W. Garnett Picot</i>	Spring 1987
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1993	Spring 1994	The Decline in Employment Among Men Aged 55-64, 1975-1985 <i>by Colin Lindsay</i>	Spring 1987
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1992	Spring 1993	The Decline of Unpaid Family Work <i>by Doreen Duchesne</i>	Winter 1988
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1991	Spring 1992	The Growth of Part-time Work <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Autumn 1986
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1990	Spring 1991	The Help-Wanted Index <i>by Jean-Pierre Maynard and Horst Stiebert</i>	Spring 1988
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1989	Spring 1990	The Labour Force Participation of Immigrants <i>(adapted from the article by Nancy McLaughlin)</i>	Autumn 1986
Annual Labour Force Estimates, 1946-1988	Spring 1989	The Law: A Changing Profession <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Summer 1986
Annual Review of Labour Force Trends <i>by Doreen Duchesne</i>	Summer 1987	The Service Sector in the 1980s <i>by Colin Lindsay</i>	Spring 1989
Annual Review of Labour Force Trends <i>by Colin Lindsay and Craig McKie</i>	Autumn 1986	The Value of Household Work in Canada <i>(adapted from the article by J.L. Swinamer)</i>	Autumn 1986
Annual Update on Labour Force Trends <i>by David Gower</i>	Summer 1988	Their Own Boss: The Self-employed in Canada <i>by Arthur Gardner</i>	Summer 1995
Canadians and Retirement <i>by Graham S. Lowe</i>	Autumn 1992	Unemployment Rates for the Full-time and Part-time Labour Forces <i>by Heather A. Clemenson</i>	Autumn 1987
Changes in Women's Occupations <i>by Catherine Shea</i>	Autumn 1990	Unemployment Insurance in Canada <i>by Roger Roberge, Jr.</i>	Spring 1993
Changing Occupational Structure <i>by Jeff O'Neill</i>	Winter 1991	Unionization in Canada <i>by Shirley Neill</i>	Spring 1988
Employment Equity <i>by Joanne Moreau</i>	Autumn 1991	Women Employed Outside the Home <i>by Jo-Anne B. Parliament</i>	Summer 1989
Employment of Disabled Canadians <i>by David Gower</i>	Summer 1988	Women in Male-dominated Professions <i>by Katherine Marshall</i>	Winter 1987
Employment of People with Disabilities <i>by Alan Shain</i>	Autumn 1995	Women in Professional Occupations: Progress in the 1980s <i>by Katherine Marshall</i>	Spring 1989
Employment Patterns of Elderly Canadians <i>by Suzanne Méthot</i>	Autumn 1987		
Increases in Long-term Unemployment <i>by Jo-Anne Parliament</i>	Spring 1987		
Involuntary Part-time Employment in Canada, 1975-1986 <i>by Ernest B. Akyeampong</i>	Autumn 1987		

CUMULATIVE INDEX: SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

Women in the Workplace <i>by Nancy Zukewich Ghalam</i>	Spring 1993	A Select Few: Canada's Ph.D. Population <i>by Brian Burke</i>	Winter 1988
Women, Men and Work <i>by Pamela Best</i>	Spring 1995	Changes in Educational Attainment <i>by George Mori and Brian Burke</i>	Summer 1990
Work Injuries <i>by Francis Pring-Mill</i>	Summer 1987	Community Colleges: An Alternative to Universities <i>by Jo-Anne Parliament</i>	Winter 1986
Working Mothers <i>by Ron Logan and Jo-Anne Belliveau</i>	Spring 1995	Computer Literacy <i>by Graham S. Lowe</i>	Winter 1990
Working Teens	Winter 1994	Education in Canada: Selected Highlights <i>by Jo-Anne Parliament</i>	Autumn 1986
INCOME		Education of Women in Canada <i>by Josée Normand</i>	Winter 1995
Average Expenditure of Urban Canadians <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Summer 1987	Educational Achievement: An International Comparison <i>by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Autumn 1993
Changes in Real Wages <i>by Abdul Rashid</i>	Spring 1994	Educational Attainment of Linguistic Groups in Canada <i>by Alain Baril and George A. Mori</i>	Spring 1991
Children and Elderly People: Sharing Public Income Resources <i>by Edward Ng</i>	Summer 1992	Employment of Humanities and Science Graduates <i>by Glenn Wheeler</i>	Summer 1989
Children in Low-income Families <i>by Brigitta Arnoti</i>	Winter 1986	Foreign Students	Summer 1986
Dual-earner Families: The New Norm <i>by Maureen Moore</i>	Spring 1989	Foreign Students at Canadian Universities <i>by Lynn Barr</i>	Summer 1989
Food Banks <i>by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Spring 1992	French Immersion <i>by Jo-Anne Parliament</i>	Autumn 1986
Income of Canada's Seniors <i>by Colin Lindsay and Shelley Donald</i>	Autumn 1988	French Immersion Programs <i>by Kim Dietrich</i>	Autumn 1991
Lone Parenthood: Gender Differences <i>by Jillian Oderkirk and Clarence Lochhead</i>	Winter 1992	Low Educational Attainment in Canada, 1975-1985 <i>by Brigitta Arnoti</i>	Spring 1987
Losing Ground: Wages of Young People, 1981-1986 <i>by Ted Wannell</i>	Summer 1989	Mature Students <i>by Cynthia Haggag-Guenette</i>	Autumn 1992
Low Income in Canada <i>by Suzanne Méthot</i>	Spring 1987	Part-time Adult Training <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux and Douglas J. Higgins</i>	Winter 1988
Married and Unmarried Couples: The Tax Question <i>by Richard J. Morrison and Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Summer 1991	Part-time University Enrolment <i>by Rebecca Bélanger and Teresa Omiecinski</i>	Summer 1987
Measuring Low Incomes in Canada <i>by Aron Spector</i>	Summer 1992	Private Education	Summer 1986
Parents and Children Living with Low Incomes <i>by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Winter 1992	Program Choices of Foreign University Students <i>by Lynn Barr</i>	Autumn 1989
Retirement Income Programs in Canada <i>by Hubert Frenken</i>	Winter 1986	Reading Skills <i>by Gilles Montigny</i>	Winter 1990
The Decline of Real Family Income, 1980-1984 <i>by Colin Lindsay</i>	Winter 1986	Reading Skills of the Immigrant Population <i>by Monica Boyd</i>	Autumn 1992
Where does the Money Go? Spending Patterns of Canadian Households, 1969-1992 <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	Winter 1994	School Leavers <i>by Sid Gilbert and Bruce Orok</i>	Autumn 1993
EDUCATION		University Enrolment in the 1980s <i>by Margaret Potts</i>	Winter 1989
1976 and 1982 Postsecondary Graduates: Selected Highlights of Their Labour Force Experience	Autumn 1987	Women in School Administration <i>by Sandra Cusson</i>	Autumn 1990
		Women Teaching at Canadian Universities <i>by Judith Hollands</i>	Summer 1988

CUMULATIVE INDEX: SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

HEALTH

Accidents <i>by Wayne Millar and Owen Adams</i>	Summer 1990
AIDS • Into the 1990s <i>by Carol Strike</i> • Knowledge, Attitudes and Behaviours in Alberta <i>by Allison L. McKinnon</i>	Winter 1991
AIDS in Canada <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Summer 1988
Alcohol and Drug Consumption Among Canadian Youth <i>by Marc Eliany</i>	Autumn 1992
Alcohol and Drug Use <i>by Marc Eliany</i>	Spring 1991
Alcohol Use and Its Consequences	Autumn 1995
Cardiovascular Disease, Cancer and Life Expectancy <i>by Dhruva Nagnur and Michael Nagrodski</i>	Winter 1988
Changes in Cancer Incidence and Mortality <i>by Jo-Anne Belliveau and Leslie Gaudette</i>	Winter 1995
Changing Health Risks <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Summer 1986
Children with Disabilities <i>by Katherine Nessner</i>	Winter 1990
Disabilities Among Children <i>by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Winter 1993
Drug Use Among Senior Canadians <i>by Michael Bergob</i>	Summer 1994
Early Childhood Mortality, 1926-1986 <i>by Margaret King, John Gartrell and Frank Trovato</i>	Summer 1991
Health and Socio-economic Inequalities <i>by Roger Roberge, Jean-Marie Berthelot and Michael Wolfson</i>	Summer 1995
Hospital Care in the 21st Century <i>by Kirk Hamilton and Hélène Trépanier</i>	Winter 1989
Increased Life Expectancy, 1921-1981 <i>by Jo-Anne Parliament</i>	Summer 1987
Indian Mortality <i>by Ellen Bobet</i>	Winter 1989
Lifestyle Risks: Smoking and Drinking in Canada <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Spring 1987
Occupational Stress <i>by Leslie Geran</i>	Autumn 1992
Organ Donation and Transplantation <i>by Jeffrey Frank</i>	Spring 1993
Physical Fitness <i>by Pierre Gauthier and Andrea Haman</i>	Summer 1992
Profile of Canadians with Disabilities <i>by Katherine Nessner</i>	Autumn 1990
Provincial Differences in Health Practices	Summer 1994

Residential Care <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Autumn 1989
Seniors with Disabilities	Spring 1991
Sleep Patterns <i>by Tamara Knighton</i>	Winter 1990
Sleep Problems: Whom do They Affect? <i>by Heather Tait</i>	Winter 1992
Sport Participation in Canada <i>by Jean-Pierre Corbeil</i>	Spring 1995
Surgery Among Elderly People <i>by Mary Beth Maclean and Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Summer 1991
The Decline in Cardiovascular Disease Mortality <i>by Jo-Anne B. Parliament</i>	Autumn 1989
The Decline of Stroke Mortality <i>by Betsy MacKenzie</i>	Autumn 1987
The Incidence of Sexually Transmitted Disease in Canada <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Summer 1987
Therapeutic Abortion in Canada <i>by Betsy MacKenzie</i>	Spring 1988
Trends in Cancer Since 1970 <i>by Leslie Gaudette and Georgia Roberts</i>	Summer 1988
Trends in Health Status and Practices, Canada and the United States <i>by Charlotte A. Schoenborn</i>	Winter 1993
Trends in Low Birth Weight <i>by Wayne Millar, Jill Strachan and Surinder Wadhera</i>	Spring 1993
Trends in Mortality from Smoking-related Cancers, 1950 to 1991 <i>by Paul J. Villeneuve and Howard I. Morrison</i>	Winter 1995
Trends in Suicide <i>by Renée Beneteau</i>	Winter 1988
Well-being of Older Canadians <i>by Julie Keith and Laura Landry</i>	Summer 1992
What Canadians are Eating <i>by Tullio Caputo and Neil Poutanen</i>	Winter 1990

JUSTICE

Albertans' Opinions on Street Prostitution <i>by Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot</i>	Summer 1994
Canada's Court System <i>by Roger Roberge, Jr.</i>	Summer 1992
Canada's Prison Population <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Summer 1987
Canada's Shelters for Abused Women <i>by Karen Rodgers and Garry MacDonald</i>	Autumn 1994
Compensation for Victims of Crime <i>by Craig McKie</i>	Winter 1986
Drug Crimes <i>by Lee Wolff</i>	Spring 1991

CUMULATIVE INDEX: SUMMER 1986 - WINTER 1995

Homicide	Summer 1990	How Canadians Spend Their Day <i>by Jo-Anne B. Parliament</i>	Winter 1989
Homicide in Canada <i>by Holly Johnson</i>	Winter 1987	Passenger Traffic on Commercial Air Services	Spring 1988
Household Property Crime <i>by Vincent Sacco and Holly Johnson</i>	Spring 1990	Performing Arts <i>by Mary Cromie</i>	Winter 1990
Illegal Drug Use in Canada <i>by Holly Johnson</i>	Winter 1988	Periodical Publishing in Canada <i>by Andrea Haman</i>	Summer 1992
Impaired Driving Offences <i>by Holly Johnson</i>	Spring 1989	Preparing for the Information Highway: Information Technology in Canadian Households <i>by Jeffrey Frank</i>	Autumn 1995
Legal Aid in Canada <i>by May Sadkowski and Judith Whitehead</i>	Summer 1987	Public Libraries <i>by Donna Owens</i>	Winter 1989
Missing Children <i>by Ryan J. McDonald</i>	Spring 1992	Television Viewing <i>by Anthony Young</i>	Autumn 1989
Motor Vehicle Crimes <i>by Peter Morrison and Lucie Ogrodnik</i>	Autumn 1994	Tempus Fugit...Are you Time Crunched? <i>by Judith Frederick</i>	Winter 1993
Perceptions of the Justice System <i>by Holly Johnson and Vincent Sacco</i>	Winter 1990	The Film Industry in Canada <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Summer 1988
Policing in Canada <i>by Johanna Ewins</i>	Summer 1990	Time Use of Canadians in 1992 <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Autumn 1993
Street Prostitution in Canada <i>by Lee Wolff and Dorota Geissel</i>	Summer 1994	Time Use of the Elderly <i>by Marion Jones</i>	Summer 1990
Trends in the Crime Rate in Canada, 1970-1985 <i>by Colin Lindsay</i>	Autumn 1986	Travel Within Canada <i>by Laurie McDougall</i>	Summer 1988
Violence in the Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family Homicide <i>by Holly Johnson and Peter Chisholm</i> • Male Violence in the Home <i>by Eugen Lupri</i> 	Autumn 1989	MISCELLANEOUS	
Violent Crime <i>by Holly Johnson</i>	Summer 1988		
Violent Victimization <i>by Vincent Sacco and Holly Johnson</i>	Summer 1990	Behind the Wheel: Canadians and Their Vehicles <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	Autumn 1994
Violent Youth Crime <i>by Jeffrey Frank</i>	Autumn 1992	Charitable Donations <i>by Daniela Lucaciu</i>	Summer 1992
Wife Abuse <i>by Holly Johnson</i>	Spring 1988	Environmental Practices of Canadian Households <i>by Leslie Geran</i>	Spring 1993
Wife Assault in Canada <i>by Karen Rodgers</i>	Autumn 1994	Expanding the Choices <i>by Ted Wannell and Craig McKie</i>	Summer 1986
Women Assaulted by Strangers <i>by Carol Strike</i>	Spring 1995	Fire! <i>by Cynthia Silver</i>	Autumn 1994
Young Offenders <i>by Derrick Doige</i>	Autumn 1990	Loss of Prime Agricultural Land: The Example of Southern Ontario <i>by Mary Anne Burke</i>	Summer 1988
CULTURE		Lotteries in Canada <i>by Mary Blickstead</i>	Autumn 1988
		Motor Vehicles and Air Pollution <i>by Alan Goodall</i>	Spring 1992
Canadian Content in the Cultural Marketplace <i>by Jeffrey Frank and Michel Durand</i>	Summer 1993	New Necessities: Popular Household Appliances <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Autumn 1988
Canadians Travelling Abroad <i>by Jillian Oderkirk</i>	Autumn 1991	Private Transportation <i>by Mary Sue Devereaux</i>	Spring 1989
Commuting Time <i>by Judith Frederick</i>	Winter 1990	The Importance of Wildlife to Canadians	Summer 1995
Eating Out <i>by Linda Robbins</i>	Summer 1989	Voting and Contributing: Political Participation in Canada <i>by Jeffrey Frank</i>	Winter 1992

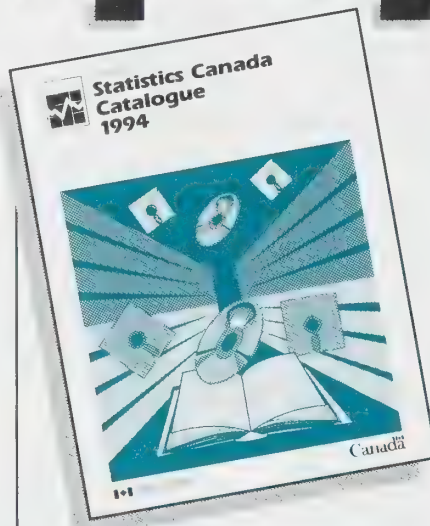
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SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,549.7	26,894.8	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1	28,542.2	28,947.0 ^{PR}	29,251.3 ^{PR}
Annual growth (%)	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.4 ^{PR}	1.1 ^{PR}
Immigration ¹	130,813	152,413	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810	265,405 ^F	227,860 ^R
Emigration ¹	47,707	40,978	40,395	39,760	43,692	45,633	43,993 ^F	44,807 ^{PR}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	13.4 ^P	*
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.9	7.0	7.0	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5	*
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.6	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	*
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144	1,077
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383	12,644
– goods sector (000s)	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302	3,393
– service sector (000s)	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082	9,252
Total unemployment (000s)	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562	1,458
Unemployment rate (%)	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2	10.3
Part-time employment (%)	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3	17.1
Women's participation rate (%)	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5	57.2
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	34.9	*	*
INCOME								
Median family income	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	47,069	*
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	12.8	12.0	10.9	12.0	12.9	13.3	14.5	*
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	72.0	*
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4	5,294.0	5,367.3	5,402.3 ^P
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4	930.5	949.3	9,647.4 ^P
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,237	3,539
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.8	6.3	6.4	6.2	*
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1	37.0	*
– women	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7	40.2	*
% of deaths due to cancer – men	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.7	27.9	*
– women	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.3	26.9	*
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.2	6.7	6.8	6.7	*
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	856	898	948	1,013	1,056	1,081	1,072 ^R	1,037
– property	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841	6,141	5,890	5,525 ^R	5,214
– homicide	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.0
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1993 \$000,000)	175,423.6	179,817.8	187,892.3	196,762.4	205,481.1	211,778.7	211,432.6	*
– as a % of total expenditures	56.1	56.1	56.0	56.8	58.5	59.6	59.6	*
– as a % of GDP	25.5	24.7	25.2	26.9	29.5	30.2	29.7	*
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5	3,086.2
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1	3,340.8
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0	3,100.2
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	-0.2	-1.8	+0.6	+2.2	+4.5
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8	0.2
Urban housing starts	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988	127,346
– Not available * Not yet available ^P Preliminary data ^E Estimate ^m Figures as of March ^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates ^{PD} Final postcensal estimates ^{PP} Preliminary postcensal estimates ^{PR} Updated postcensal estimates ^R Revised data ^F Final data								
¹ For year ending June 30. ² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.								

Life expectancy



Boys born in Canada during the 1990-1992 period can expect to live 74.6 years. Girls, however, can expect a few more years of life, living to an expected 80.9 years. While these are the "life expectancy" figures usually quoted, the older people survive, the longer their total life expectancy becomes. For example, among those who had already lived to age 65 in 1990-1992, men could expect a lifespan of 80.7 years, and women 84.9 years.

Life Tables, Canada and Provinces, 1990-1992,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 84-537.

Lower earnings reduced tax take in 1993



The average income tax paid by families in 1993 - \$10,234 - was \$271 lower than in 1992 after adjusting for inflation. This was largely because many family wage earners experienced unemployment or underemployment during the most recent recession, leaving families with lower earnings to tax. 1993 was the third straight year of decreasing average family tax, bringing the total average tax decline since 1990 to \$900 (in 1993 dollars).

Income after Tax, Distributions by Size in Canada, 1993,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-210.

Increasing number of wives out-earn their husbands



A growing number of wives earn more than their spouses in dual-earner families. In 1993, wives were the higher earner in 25% of dual-earner families (an estimated 930,000 families). This was up from 19% in 1989 and just 11% in 1967.

Characteristics of Dual Earner Families, 1993,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-215.

Kids and gadgets go together



Two-parent households with children under age 18 were more likely than other households to own most types of household equipment. Not surprisingly, they also had higher incomes - averaging \$59,348 in 1993, compared with \$46,559 for households overall. Time saving appliances were particular favourites. For example, 92% of these families had a microwave and 61% had a dishwasher. In contrast, 64% of people living alone had a microwave and 23% had a dishwasher.

Household Facilities by Income and Other Characteristics, 1994,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-218.

Energy consumption high compared to other countries



Canada's per capita energy consumption - equivalent to 5.84 tonnes of oil in 1993 - was higher than that in any other major industrialized country. A high standard of living, the vastness of the country and the harsh climate partly explain Canada's high energy consumption. The primary reason, however, is an abundance of natural resources coupled with relatively low energy prices, which have encouraged the development of large energy intensive industries such as chemicals, aluminum, steel, and pulp and paper. Much of the output from these industries is destined for foreign markets.

Canadian Economic Observer, May 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-010.

More abortions being performed earlier



In 1993, both the number of therapeutic abortions (104,403) and the abortion rate (26.9 abortions for every 100 live births) increased, continuing the upward trend that has prevailed since 1989. A growing proportion of abortions in Canadian hospitals were performed in the early stages of pregnancy. The share of abortions performed on women pregnant less than 13 weeks rose to 92% in 1993 from 88% in 1983. This may be one reason for the decrease in abortion-related complications, to 1.3% (of total abortion cases) in 1993 from 2.1% in 1983.

The Daily, July 12, 1995,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-001E.

More people went to the movies in 1993-94



Movie attendance at regular theatres in Canada reached 76.5 million in 1993-94, up 7% over the previous year. Drive-in attendance also increased, rising 12% to 2.3 million. Residents of Alberta and British Columbia were Canada's most avid movie-goers, with an average attendance of more than three times per person. In contrast, Newfoundland had the lowest average attendance at just over one movie per person.

Canada's Culture, Heritage and Identity: A Statistical Perspective,
Statistics Canada Catalogue 87-211.

Aboriginal peoples in Northern and Western cities

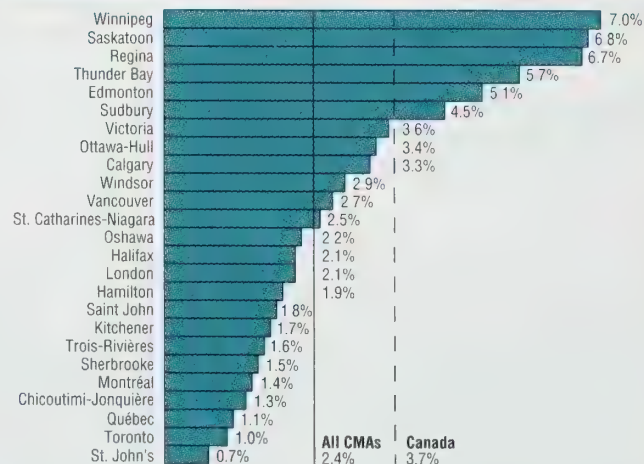


People with Aboriginal origins (including North American Indian, Métis and Inuit origins) made up 3.7% of all Canadians in 1991, but only 2.4% of people living in Canada's 25 census metropolitan areas (CMAs). Winnipeg (44,970) and Montréal (44,650) were home to the largest numbers of people with Aboriginal origins. The CMAs located from Northern Ontario to Alberta, however, tended to have the largest concentrations of Aboriginal people among their residents. The proportions in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina were highest at about 7%, followed by Thunder Bay, Edmonton and Sudbury. The exception in this zone was Calgary with 3.3%.

Canada's Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivisions and Census Metropolitan Areas, 1991 Census, Statistics Canada Catalogue 94-326.

Aboriginal people as a proportion of the population of Canada's census metropolitan areas, 1991

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94-326



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